

**FEAR OF CRIME**

**IN THE**

**ELDERLY**

**By**

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## ABSTRACT

*This research conducted in the Christchurch area reviews fear of crime among the elderly (citizens aged 60 and over).*

*Primarily its aim is to identify factors which are and are not related to elderly's fear of crime. To meet this aim, questionnaires were given out to 377 elderly people that live in Christchurch urban and rural areas.*

*Upon analysis five major issues emerged.*

*First, gender proved to be a significant factor in establishing the type of crime elderly individuals most fear.*

*Second, physical assault and property losses were the two major crimes elderly people most feared.*

*Third, previous victimisation was found to increase the level of fear towards crime.*

*Fourth, fear of crime was not an important issue for elderly people, health, injury and security all were rated as more important.*

*Finally, over 85% of respondents recorded that they would report crimes to the police, even petty crimes.*

*This study partly supports previous research (Manderson (1990), Robinson, Young & Haslett (1989) ) carried out in New Zealand which found that, although victimisation rates for elderly people are low, elderly people feel that they are the most vulnerable to crime.*

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# CHAPTER ONE

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## INTRODUCTION

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

As crime rates increase, crime is becoming a major concern for everyone, especially for people who are vulnerable, either physically (powerless to resist attack) or through social isolation (lack of monitoring by friends and neighbours). These factors are both present in elderly populations, which indicates that the elderly are a group of people who feel that they would be particularly vulnerable to crime. In spite of the increasing number of anti-crime programs, such as neighbourhood watch groups, better street lighting, defence courses etc., and large sums of money being spent by Government, crime rates are still rising. Statistics issued by the Department of Statistics (1993) have shown that criminal offences in New Zealand increased from 484,507 (excluding traffic offences) in 1991 to 499,033 in 1992. Violent crimes such as sexual offences, armed robberies, murders and physical violence using a dangerous weapon, increased from 31,000 to over 37,000.

Criminal activity was most prevalent in the Auckland area with over 65,000 crimes reported in 1992. Christchurch followed closely with over 40,000 crimes but although the figure for Christchurch was less than Auckland, the Christchurch crime rate rose at nearly twice the rate of the national 3% increase (Taylor 1993). Warr 1986; Skogan & Maxfield 1981; Clemente & Kleiman 1976; and Manderson 1990) report that individuals over the age 60-65 years experience higher levels of feeling unsafe within their environment than any other age bracket. The reason for this high level of fear towards crime could be the differential impact that crime has on them.

Aging is a period of decreasing physical strength and agility making resistance to attack both less effective and more dangerous than for

younger persons. Even minor injuries may result in serious and perhaps permanent damage to the older victim (Goldsmith & Goldsmith 1976). Surveys have shown (Brillon 1987) that 25.5% of the young victims of an offence sustain injuries, and of these, 19.7% must be hospitalised. In contrast for victims 65 years and over, the percentages are 41.9% and 27.5% respectively. Additionally, as the elderly are often less agile, they could have great difficulty recovering from broken bones and other serious injuries. The prospect of a severe and lasting disability from a brief encounter, e.g. a purse snatcher, can be particularly frightening for an older person.

As people advance in age, there is often a reduction in financial resources and many are forced to live in poorer neighbourhoods (Brillon 1987), which in many cases are the areas associated with high rates of crime. Moreover, many elderly have little money left over once their basic needs are met leaving very little for better protection against crime. This can cause anxiety, particularly if they feel that they live in an unsafe environment.

Another important issue that arises is, that many elderly think that they can do nothing to prevent criminal attack; they feel feelings of helplessness and lack of control prevail (Rotter 1966). Many believe their only protection is avoidance, usually by confining themselves to their houses (Brillon 1987), which can ultimately increase their fear and their feelings of vulnerability.

Although it has been recorded that as people get older, they become more concerned with crime, it is interesting to note that older individuals actually have the lowest victimisation rates (Manderson 1990; Warr 1986;



Skogan, Cook & Antunes 1981).

To understand why victimisation and the elderly's concern for crime is unrelated, it is necessary to look at:

- a) people's direct and personal experiences of crime
- b) what they think about crime and
- c) what they do in response to crime.

The present research is centred on individuals over the age of 60 years. It examines their fear of crime, their responses to crime and their personal experiences of it. It is constructed into four chapters.

Chapter One which includes the General Introduction is organised as follows.

The first part of Chapter One focuses on:

- what fear of crime is and touches on how it is measured, and
- the psychological aspects of fear of crime.

The second part of Chapter One is concerned with:

- the genesis of fear of crime, and
- then looks further at whether or not vulnerability and crime are related.

In Part two, Empirical Research concerning the fear of crime in the elderly is reviewed. In this section, two main areas are dealt with. Firstly, the main issues which previous studies are focused on, and secondly, looks in depth at how previous studies were measured. This is followed by a brief discussion of these studies. Part two concludes with an overview conclusion.

In Part three the rationale for the current study is introduced. In this section the questions addressed in the current study are outlined and methodological issues are discussed.

Chapters Two and Three deal with the current study, which establishes the types of crime elderly people living within the Canterbury area are most afraid of, the demographic factors influencing the type of crime that most elderly fear, and whether individuals living in institutions fear the same crimes as those living alone or in private households. How the elderly perceive the protection offered by the police is also mentioned.

Chapter Two comprises the methodology of the present study, including subjects selection, subjects characteristics, data collection and research procedure. The final part of Chapter Two details how the present study data is analysed.

Chapter Three gives a full account of the results.

Chapter Four is the summary and conclusion of the current study, its limitations, and recommendation for future research are discussed.

## PART I

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### WHAT IS THE FEAR OF CRIME

There is some uncertainty about just what 'Fear of Crime' is. Although fear is described as one of a human being's primary emotional responses, fear of crime can be very ambiguous. There are two main elements of fear - the physiological state and the psychological state.

The physiological state is triggered by learned associations with fear - provoking stimuli, (Stinchcombe, Heimer, Iliff, Scheppele, Smith & Taylor 1978). That is, fear is activated by signs of danger and to an inability to do much about it. The symptoms usually include rapid heartbeat, high blood pressure, increased flow of blood to the large muscles and endocrinic changes. While these physiological reactions are well known, they are difficult to measure in sample surveys.

The psychological state is even more difficult to measure, as it is subjective and each individual's fear level will depend on their perception of crime and/or the experience that they have had of crime. Past surveys (Eve & Eve 1984; Clemente & Kleiman 1976; Wolfgang 1978;) measuring the psychological state of individuals' fear of crime, asked questions based on specific situations which imply specific kinds of risks and potential consequences. For example, "How safe do you feel being out alone in your neighbourhood?" (Manderson 1990), or "List the crimes you are most afraid of" (Eve & Eve 1984). By fixing on specific situations, responses can be measured giving some indication of the amount of fear felt. Although this is a narrowly defined context for assessing the fear of crime, it has been found to be an effective way for measuring the significance of the seriousness of various crime incidents.

Additionally, (Goldsmith & Goldsmith 1977; Eve & Eve 1984; Clemente & Kleiman 1976) maintain that people have a variety of fears of crime depending on their circumstances, occurrences, crimes, and potential consequences involved. Furthermore, the amount of fear a person has will depend on a variety of factors, such as physical health, income, mobility, social networks - family and friends.

Although fear of crime is obscure, it requires one to be able to recognise a high risk situation and the cues that are associated with danger, such as incidents of vandalism and the nature of persons on the streets (gangs etc). This in turn can bring feelings of anxiety that are magnified into fear in vulnerable situations, i.e. walking alone at night or living in areas of high crime rates.

### 1.1.2

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## PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF CRIME

Biological, psychological factors and social activity all need to be taken into consideration when studying the psychological aspects of fear of crime among the elderly. Although there are today many elderly people living very active lifestyles, the fact remains that the older one gets, the higher the probability is that one's effectiveness will be limited, for example in eyesight, hearing and physical strength. This has been found to amplify feelings of vulnerability towards crime (Baumer 1979).

Physical characteristics, such as sex, are another important factor related to fear. Warr (1986) showed that elderly women are much more fearful of crime than younger women due to their feelings of being more vulnerable, whereas elderly males are no less afraid of crime than younger males, especially in areas of assault, robbery and threat. A possible explanation

for these findings is that women have been uniquely susceptible to terrifying crimes such as rape and physical violence for the majority of their lives. Therefore, it is a possibility that as women age, their fear of vulnerability is still present even though their fear of rape has decreased. Warr (1986) showed that elderly females are most afraid of robbery, burglary and assault from a stranger, whereas younger females were more afraid of rape and assault.

Additionally, in the past many people associated advancing age with reduced intellectual functioning (Schaie 1974). Today this has been found to be incorrect (Lawton, Nahenow, Yaffe & Feldman 1977). Although with increasing years, vision, hearing, muscular strength and co-ordination are impaired, general intelligence, memory and judgement do not become impaired with age alone. However, there is some evidence (Goldsmith & Goldsmith 1977), to suggest that environmental pressure, particularly where quick decisions are required, for example, whether or not to open a door to a stranger, increases the anxiety of older people.

An experiment carried out by Rotter (1966) on internal and external locus of control found that middle-aged and younger individuals felt that they were in control of their lives and felt that they were capable of dealing with problems through their own initiative (internal locus of control). Whereas, older individuals (both male and female) felt that they were more controlled by the environment, in that they believed that their fate and any events that happen to them are outside of their control (external locus of control) as their own abilities diminished. This feeling of external locus of control according to Rotter (1966) makes the elderly both to be more vulnerable and to feel more vulnerable to their environment.

Although gender differences were not explored by Goldsmith & Goldsmith (1977), they found that most elderly people are aware of their deprivations associated with growing old. They have confirmed that the elderly will be likely to be negatively affected and will suffer a great loss of self-esteem through the realisation of their vulnerability. If this condition dominates, low self-esteem can lead an individual to perceive more threats from environmental situations, even though they have never been exposed to them. This perception of threat can be just as stressful to the elderly as being exposed to them (Lazarus 1966).

On a social level, a majority of the elderly are on a fixed income which restricts their spending. New Zealand Census (1991) shows that for many of the elderly living in New Zealand, the only source of income is their National Superannuation (approximately \$11,000 per year). This indicates that a large number of people 60 years and over live in a state of great financial insecurity. This relative poverty can have a direct influence on the way they live. A survey by Brillon (1987) found that those living on modest or low incomes were forced to live in relatively poor neighbourhoods which were frequently associated with higher crime rates. Economic deprivation can result in poor housing, nutrition problems and lack of adequate transportation. These are principal sources for anxiety among the elderly.

Also the social networks of many older people can become stressful, not only for economic reasons, but also because of aging processes. As people age, they can lose mobility due to poor health or lose social opportunities due to the death of a spouse, relatives and friends. These factors have been associated with increasingly high fear levels because of greater feelings of vulnerability (Brillon 1987).

In summary, these biological, psychological and social factors such as environmental pressure and economic restraints can put extra stress on older people, which increases their feeling of vulnerability. This in turn can lead many elderly to see their environment as unsafe and to magnify fears that they could easily be personally victimised (Lawton et.al. 1977), even though they have never been a victim of crime.

### 1.1.3

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#### GENESIS OF THE FEAR OF CRIME

The level of fear of crime among the elderly can vary from one individual to another. Its development may too depend on many factors, such as previous victimisation, daily exposure to the threat of victimisation (living in a high crime area), isolation and/or exaggerated media reports that tend to overemphasise serious crimes, especially those of personal violence on the elderly (Baumer 1979).

Fear levels are measured in surveys by authors asking the respondents questions indicating how they feel (e.g. 'very safe', 'somewhat safe' or 'very unsafe') to specific situations such as, "How safe do you feel in your street?" (Skogan & Maxfield 1981), or "Do you feel safe walking alone in your neighbourhood at night?" (Manderson 1990).

Once a situation or event associated with crime has been perceived, fear can develop according to the perception, or subjective assessment of impending harm (Sluckin 1979). Literature indicates (Killias 1990; Warr 1987; Maxfield 1984) that there are three key factors that the development of fear of crime depends on. They are:

- 1) Exposure to risk.

- 2) Loss of control.
- 3) Anticipation of the seriousness of consequences.

1) Exposure to risk

Lewis & Maxfield (1980) revealed that people assess their risks of crime by taking into account what they see in their daily environment. High incidence of crime in a neighbourhood does increase fear of crime (Killias 1990) but so does signs of physical deterioration and disorder, for example graffiti, broken windows and young people hanging around street corners, which many people associate with high crime rates (Maxfield 1987). Signs of physical deterioration can be a major cause of fear as they reflect perceptions that one's neighbourhood is unsafe, in that there is always the presence of cues that indicate danger and crime.

Physical factors of exposure to risk are just as important as situational factors, in that (Lawton et.al. 1977) states older people who feel that they are physically weak, limit their exposure by avoiding places they consider dangerous and be restricting their range of movements, especially at night. A survey by Sundeen (1977) confirmed that many elderly people virtually go into voluntary isolation (e.g. by going out less, thus avoiding the risk of being attacked or robbed), to lessen their exposure to crime. However, isolation does not necessarily mean that their levels of fear of crime will decrease. In fact in many cases isolation can increase levels of fear (Brillon 1987) by aggravating a person's sense of vulnerability toward crime. Fear of specific crimes such as burglary and theft with violence, is also linked with social isolation (Sundeen 1977). The dread of being burglarised and attacked is much lower when the older person feels that they have good social supports such as friendly neighbours, a good network of friends and living in a safe area.



Other studies have shown that isolation can increase fear levels in certain cases for all age groups (Maxfield 1987; Sundeen 1977). However, Killias (1990) found that people who lived alone were not more fearful than those who live with others, but that those who lived alone and who had low financial resources also had a dramatic increase in fear of crime. One reason that poor financial resources might increase fear of crime is that the elderly who are more affluent can afford to live in safer areas (such as retirement villages), and have better and modern security systems put into their homes. Furthermore, they use their own car or taxis for transportation instead of public transport which many elderly feel vulnerable in using (Patterson 1985).

## 2) Loss of Control

The second key factor that development of crime depends on is loss of control, that is, lack of effective defence, protective measures and/or possibilities of escape. Although the risk of the elderly being victimised is low, fear of crime can increase sharply if the person feels that there is not much he/she can do to avoid the risk, or to reduce the seriousness of its consequences, e.g. by defensive or protective measures or simply by escaping in cases of attack (Killias 1990).

Statistics from the New Zealand Police Department (1992) have shown that the majority of those who commit crimes are usually males aged 24 - 33 years. Taking account of this fact it seems understandable that older people, especially females, are more afraid of crime than their younger counterparts since they are usually inferior in physical strength and ability to the average offender. However, Killias (1990), established that when elderly individuals remained fairly active and had maintained their

body through training, they perceived themselves in more control of their own lives as they felt that they could resist or flee a crime. These people were found to be only as fearful of crime as those at a lower age bracket of 31 - 40 years.

### 3) Anticipation of the seriousness of consequences

The third key factor is anticipation of consequences. Several studies have indicated that one of the major reasons for the elderly to be more fearful of crime than any other age group is that they feel that any criminal attack on them could result in very serious consequences, such as physical injury (broken limb etc) where they may recover only after many months or may not recover at all (Skogan & Maxfield 1981). Furthermore, lasting physical handicaps may seriously affect the elderly victim's living conditions, since they may have to give up their independence and go into a nursing institution or other similar accommodation.

Victimisation reports have shown that many more elderly individuals are hospitalised than younger ones after a robbery/assault. Consequences for the elderly are usually much more devastating, physically and emotionally (Botwinick 1978). Even crimes associated with loss of property can be more subjectively threatening for older than younger people. Their loss represents a greater destruction of time and symbolic assets (Ward 1979).

#### 1.1.4

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### **ARE VULNERABILITY AND CRIME RELATED?**

In a number of countries, national victimisation surveys have been carried out (British Crime Survey 1988; Solicitor General 1985; Hindelang, Gottfredson & Garofalo 1978), found that people aged 35 years

and older are less likely to be victims than those aged 15 years to 35 years, and that people 60 years and above are the less victimised.

Although New Zealand does not keep statistics on information regarding victims of crimes, two detailed regional studies have been carried out, one in Wellington and another in Canterbury. and these have shown similar results to overseas studies. The first regional victimisation study was carried out by Robinson, Young & Haslett (1989) in two different areas of Wellington (Mana and Lower Hutt). This study found that 18% of people between 16 to 29 years experienced one or more offences against their property compared with 5% of those aged 50 years or over. Additionally, respondents aged 16 to 29 years accounted for over 50% of all victims in both districts, whereas in the 30 to 49 years age group this rate dropped to 10%. For those over 50 years, the rate dropped a further 5%.

The second major victimisation survey was conducted in Canterbury in 1989 by Manderson (1990). She examined the victimisation experiences of a sample of residents aged 16 years and over. Manderson (1990) confirmed that rates of victimisation declined with age and also found that the pattern of seniors being the least victimised group is maintained for property offences (property stolen 25.9%) see Table 1, and physical assault (0.8%) see Table 2.

Please see Table 1 and Table 2 next page.

Table 1: Whether Property Stolen  
by Age, Canterbury 1990

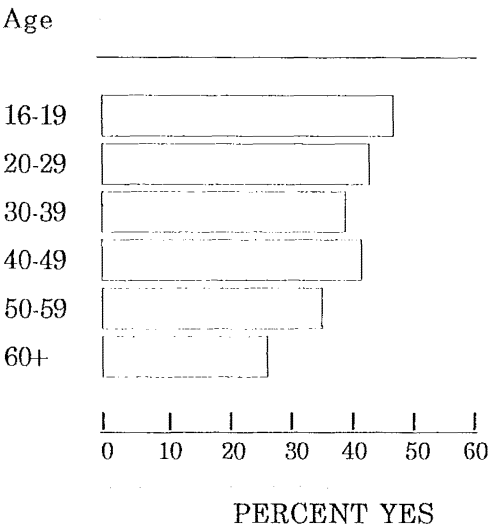
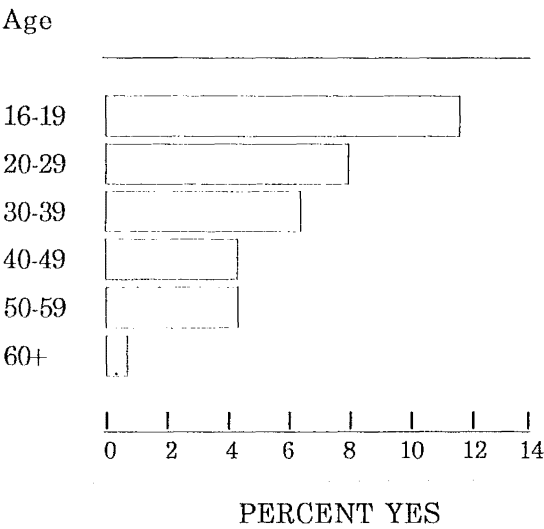


Table 2: Whether Physically Assaulted  
by Age, Canterbury 1990



Source: Manderson 1990

Victimological research carried out in Britain and Canada, has shown that there is a close connection between people's lifestyles and their exposure to high risk situations (frequenting bars, going to nightclubs etc) and the degree of victimisation (Brillon 1987). This indicates that those most at risk are people who spend more time in high crime or in the company of potential offenders, or who leave their property ( homes or vehicles) unguarded for long periods.

This evidence also explains why the elderly seem to be less victimised than any other age groups. Their lifestyles keep them from potential high risk situations. Elderly persons generally go out less often than younger people. Staying in deters offenders (research indicates 85% of all home burglaries are committed when the property is vacant (Skogan & Maxfield 1981). Thus staying home shelters the elderly from possible danger.

In summary, regional victimisation surveys conducted in New Zealand have similar results to that of surveys performed overseas (i.e. older people

are the least victimised group). It is also suggested by researchers that the differences in 'lifestyle' are an important explanatory factor for victimisation rates. It appears from the literature that younger individuals are more often the victims of crime than older individuals, indicating that although the elderly feel more vulnerable towards crime, crime and the elderly's actual vulnerability to it, are not related.

### 1.1.5

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### CONCLUSION

In spite of the fact that elderly people are less often victims of crime than other age groups, evidence has shown they are much more fearful of crime. This apparent paradox can be explained at least in part, by the aging process which leads many older citizens to change their daily behaviour. Since many of them go out less, especially at night, they are less exposed to the danger of becoming victims of aggression. This is possibly why their rate of victimisation is much lower than that of other age groups.

Many aged persons are more fragile than younger people, hence they not only fear being incapable of defending themselves against a possible aggressor, but they also fear the consequences, (financial, psychological and physical) should someone attack them personally or rob them of their possessions.

## PART II

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### EMPIRICAL RESEARCH - LITERATURE REVIEW

A dominant theme in the research literature on the elderly's fear of crime is that the relationship between age and fear is very strong. It is the elderly who are more fearful of crime yet they tend to be the least victimised, whereas younger people, especially males, are frequently the most victimised but are the least fearful (Braungart, Braungart & Hoyer 1980).

Studies of fear of crime repeatedly point to this paradox, (Clemente & Kleiman 1977; Skogan et.al. 1981; Garofalo 1979; Warr 1986; Goldsmith & Goldsmith 1977). This would suggest that the fear of crime among the elderly is irrational as the elderly's fear of crime is way out of proportion to the actual risk of harm which they face. However, other evidence has shown (Klecka & Bishop 1978), that fear of crime expressed by most elderly is in actual response to real threats in their environment.

The study conducted by Klecka and Bishop at the Behavioural Sciences Laboratory (B.S.L.) of the University of Cincinnati indicates that the conclusions about fear of crime (i.e. that their fears are irrational) among the elderly have been misleading (Klecka & Bishop 1978). A review of their study suggests that the fear level of the elderly is based on a realistic perception of the risk which crime presents to them.

The B.S.L. study compared two neighbourhoods of similar size, in Brooklyn U.S.A where the elderly were a homogeneous group (white race, English speaking, similar education, lived in the area for approximately 15 years or longer, approximately same income level) - yet for both of these areas the elderly had different fear levels of crime. It was found that in

the area where fear levels were low, the elderly had quite different lifestyles. The majority lived in their own houses and not in apartments of 6 units or more, as did the elderly who lived in the high fear level neighbourhood. Furthermore, the area with low fear levels were mostly middle-class. These elderly felt that they were an integral part of their neighbourhood whereas in the high fear level neighbourhood most of the area ranged from middle to low class residents and were more racially mixed. The elderly in this area felt concerned about crime and saw their environments as being unsafe. The crime rates for this area were also much higher than that for the other neighbourhood.

It was discovered just under 4% of the elderly living in the low fear level of crimes area, reported that they had been robbed or attacked during the previous year, whereas over 16% of the elderly living in the high fear level area reported being victimised in the same year. Comparing the fear of crime and direct and indirect victimisation experiences of these two areas, provides some evidence that the elderly's fear of crime is basically a realistic response.

Another important issue some authors have mentioned (Kilpatrick, Saunders, Veronen, Best & Von 1987; Robinson 1989; Manderson 1990; Lindsey 1991) is that many elderly victims do not report crimes to the police or victim services agencies. This implies that samples drawn from police reports or service agencies are not representative of all victims.

Possible reasons given in the literature for the elderly not reporting crimes are:

- 1) That many elderly fear that they may be considered as incapable of

caring for themselves, therefore would need to be institutionalised thus losing their independence (Ballin 1993).

- 2) Many are reluctant to report crime for fear of reprisals. Data from the U.S.A. has confirmed that 25% of elderly persons in the U.S.A. have been victimised several times (Cunningham 1976).

### **1.2.1**

#### **PROBLEMS OF MEASUREMENT IN FEAR OF CRIME STUDIES (CRIME SURVEYS)**

Data from crime surveys provide information about the association between age and fearfulness generally. However, despite their usefulness, crime surveys are not without their limitations. Surveys appear to be most successful in recording details about crimes against clearly identifiable individual victims and their property. However, they fail to measure crimes such as white collar crimes, and consumer fraud, i.e. sale of miracle drugs and medicines, fraudulent investments, etc. (Robinson et.al.1989). Therefore many victims do not know if they have been victimised or do not know what type of offence has occurred, which indicates that crime surveys are not an accurate source for victimisation rates.

The majority of surveys are usually based on a simple questionnaire format, which focus on eliciting feelings of personal safety, such as, "How safe do you feel, or would you feel safe being out alone in your neighbourhood at night?" (Garofalo 1979; Robinson 1989; Manderson 1990). such questions are reliable and valid indicators of personal safety (Skogan & Maxfield 1981) and their extensive use makes comparisons between studies possible. However, they are rather narrow in scope and



do not really explain fear of all crime such as burglary, which is one of the most common crimes experienced by householders (Lindsey 1991).

Furthermore, many survey questions do not include the word crime, therefore, when a question asks "How safe do you feel, or would you feel?", how safe or unsafe from what is not defined. Another important issue is the phrase "Do you feel, or would you feel" is methodologically inappropriate because it has a double meaning (La Grange & Ferrier 1987). It is one thing to ask an individual how safe they do feel being out alone in their neighbourhood at night, if this is a situation that they regularly experience. It is something quite different to ask how safe they would feel if they seldom or never are alone in their neighbourhood at night. In other words, this single fear of crime indicator, which is intended to be relevant to all individuals, actually becomes two distinct questions for different groups of respondents. For example, for one group, the question has a concrete meaning based on actual experience (the do feel group), for the other group, the question is more hypothetical and somewhat removed from everyday experiences (the would feel group).

Therefore it is important to accurately distinguish the types of question asked in order to establish more reliable indicators of fear of crime, as different questions may obtain distinctly different answers.

As already mentioned, most survey questions do not ask respondents about crime, but rather about feelings of safety within their own environment. Although these types of question have been found to be an effective way of measuring fear for specific situations, they cannot be taken as a representative for all types of crimes, as fear of a specific crime cannot be evenly distributed across different types of crime (La Grange 1987). For

example, the consequences of money being stolen from a wealthy individual may not be as tragic a loss for them as when money is stolen from someone poor, or the experience of someone coming face to face with a mugger carrying a knife would be far more terrifying than having a radio stolen from an unoccupied car.

Some studies which have focused on this dilemma (Sundeen & Mathieu 1976; Warr 1986); have documented that different crimes have different amounts of fear. These studies have shown that the elderly are no more afraid of crime than younger individuals. Also, the elderly are more likely to be victims of certain types of crime such as personal larceny, consumer fraud and con-games, because they are considered relatively easy targets than younger people (Lindsey 1991).

The 1980 Figgie Report on Fear of Crime (Research and Forecasts Inc., 1980) provided additional understanding into the effect of crime type on fears. In this study, two dissimilar measures of fear of crime were used. First, a 'concrete' fear index was created from six specific questions that measure how often respondents worry about being a victim of murder, sexual assault, mugging, knifing, beating, and armed robbery; and second, a 'formless' fear index was created from six nonspecific questions measuring one's general sense of safety in the home, neighbourhood, and their community. Their finding showed when the elderly were asked about victimisation fears of specific criminal offences, they were less fearful than younger respondents. Moreover, when the level of formless, nonspecific fear was assessed, the elderly were only slightly more fearful than younger age groups.

This study inferred that the concrete index comes closest to measuring

actual fear and the formless index measures anxiety, indicating that many elderly may experience more anxiety about crime than younger individuals, but less fear. This would explain how many studies reported that fear of crime by the elderly is much higher than for any other age group. In fact many studies may actually have investigated the elderly's anxieties towards crimes and not their fears.

In summary, when fear of crime is measured from specific types of crimes rather than from a single indicator, the elderly are no more fearful of crime (that is, when it is concretely measured), than younger individuals, but are somewhat more fearful or anxious of crime when measured as formless fear.

### 1.2.2

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## CONCLUSION

Literature on fear of crime among the elderly has provided contradictory information. Firstly, many studies report that there is a strong relationship between age and fear of crime, with individuals 65 years and over experiencing a higher level of fear than the rest of the population, whereas alternative surveys (Maxfield 1984) report only a minor difference between age groups and fear of crime. Secondly, studies have indicated that the elderly's fear of crime is irrational, as they perceive themselves to have a high probability of becoming victims (Goldsmith & Goldsmith 1977; Jaycox 1978) even though they are the least victimised age group. Other studies contradict these results and show the elderly's perception of being victimised are realistic (Klecka & Bishop 1978).

An explanation for the discrepancy in these findings, is that many surveys

use different measurements of fear of crime. For example, Lebowitz (1975), Robinson (1989) and Manderson (1990) all used "feels unsafe when out alone at night" (formless fear), as an indicator of fear of crime, while others used a variety of indicators such as, "afraid of being a victim of murder, mugging or more worried about violence and their safety on the streets" (concrete fear), (Figgie Report 1980).

Differences in measurements could also explain why there is some discrepancy between studies that report the elderly have more fears toward crime (Braungart et.al. 1980), whereas others proclaim that the elderly are no more afraid of crime than any other age group (Sundeen & Mathieu 1976).

Another weakness within the literature, other than the lack of standardisation in measuring fear of crime, is that fear of crime is hardly ever defined by researchers. Most authors define the fear of crime as the perception of the probability of being victimised (Sundeen & Mathieu 1976). According to Yin (1980), this definition is not adequate because the frightful element of crime is not based solely on the probability of being victimised, whether perceived or real. Other factors such as seriousness of physical injury, property loss to elderly victims and ability to recuperate from a victimisation experience, all play a major role in fear towards crime, especially for elderly individuals (Goldsmith & Tomas 1974; Cunningham 1976).

Existing research also fails to take into consideration the significance of the different types of crime (Yin 1980). Fear of being raped or physically assaulted is more fearful than fear of purse-snatching or fear of having personal property stolen. A few studies (Sundeen & Mathieu 1976;

Robinson 1989) have itemised the different types of crime people fear, such as fear of rape, assaults, robbery, home burglary, car being stolen and consumer fraud. Other studies only identify fear for specific situations (Manderson 1990; Warr 1987) and use it as a representative for all types of crimes.

In spite of measurement problems, which could lead to ambiguous results, there has been considerable empirical literature on the fear of crime among the elderly. The majority of researchers confirm that there are significant relationships between lifestyle, income, education, health, community type (high or low crime areas), age and fear of crime.

Although there is some dispute about whether elderly individuals feel more vulnerable towards crime (Sundeen & Mathieu 1976; Warr 1986) than other age groups, more research is needed to clarify why elderly individuals feel vulnerable to crime and what are the main crimes that are directly related to this vulnerability. This would give a better understanding of the fear of crime among the elderly.

## **PART III**

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### **RATIONALE FOR THE CURRENT STUDY**

The rationale for the current study is divided into three segments and covers the Aims of the Study, the Research Method and the Questions Addressed in the Current Study.

#### **1.3.1**

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##### **AIMS OF THE CURRENT STUDY**

To date much of the research studying fear of crime among elderly individuals has focused on the amount of anxiety or worry regarding the safety of oneself and one's property from victimisation.

Although this type of research established which age group is more fearful of possible victimisation for specific situations, it does not provide information on what types of crimes elderly people do most fear and if their judgement is influenced by other factors such as the demographic element. The current study attempts to gather this information among elderly people who reside in the Christchurch rural and urban areas.

The intention of the research is not to establish elderly individuals fear levels towards crime, rather its aim is to provide general material on the types of crime older people are most afraid of and if factors such as area of residence, gender, sharing accommodation and victimisation experiences influence their decision. Thus no set hypotheses were formulated for the current study.

Furthermore, findings from researchers Kilpatrick, Saunders, Veronen, Best & Von (1987), Skogan (1986) and Sparks (1982) noted that many crime

victims do not report crimes to police (especially petty crimes) and many thought that the police could do little in protecting them from possible victimisation. Two questions addressing these issues are also asked. The information obtained from the findings would give an indication if Christchurch areas are similar to those overseas.

### 1.3.2

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#### RESEARCH METHODS

The data were gathered by using a self-report research strategy. Because of the need for standardisation and reliability a questionnaire was designed by the researcher, in which subjects are directly asked about various concerns they have towards crime.

The advantages of using a standardised questionnaire are:

- a) It can be administered in a reasonably anonymous context.
- b) Subjects may respond more truthfully to the questions because they would be in no danger of being identified or being judged by the researcher on the basis of their response.
- c) It is a very economical research method which enables the study of a large number of people with the minimum of time and expense.

### 1.3.3

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#### QUESTIONS ADDRESSED IN THE CURRENT STUDY

The specific questions addressed in the current research are:

- 1) Do elderly people know the most common crime committed in their area?
- 2) Do the elderly know the most frequently committed crime against people 60 years and over?

- 3) Have any of the elderly individuals had victimisation experiences, either personally or through family/friends etc?
- 4) Do elderly people feel that they live in a safe area?
- 5) What time of day do elderly individuals feel that they are the most vulnerable to possible victimisation?
- 6) What age group do the elderly feel that are the most vulnerable towards crime?
- 7) Would elderly individuals report petty crimes to the police if they were a victim?
- 8) How do elderly people feel about their local police for protection against crime?
- 9) What do elderly people do to protect themselves from possible victimisation?
- 10) What are the three worst crimes, do elderly people feel, that happen in their society?
- 11) Which types of crimes do elderly people most fear?
- 12) To what degree do elderly individuals feel that they could become a victim of their most feared crime?
- 13) Are elderly people more concerned about other issues such as health, income and death, rather than crime?



# CHAPTER TWO

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## METHODOLOGY

PART 1

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SUBJECTS

This chapter describes the subjects selection, subjects characteristics, description of the research questionnaire, the research procedure adopted and lastly, data analyses.

PART 2.1.1

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SUBJECTS SELECTION

In this study subject selection was carried out by the researcher visiting Senior Citizen meetings and Probus Clubs (Retired Professional and Business personnel) in eight Christchurch urban and rural areas.

<u>Urban</u>	<u>Rural</u>
New Brighton	Rangiora
City South	Kaiapoi
Christchurch Central	Lyttelton
Papanui	Hornby

With permission of each club's president, elderly individuals were given a detailed explanation for the purpose of the study by the researcher. A questionnaire was handed out to all those who wanted to participate in the survey. The subjects were then asked to read it carefully, to make sure they fully understood each question. The respondents either filled out the questionnaire during the meeting or took them away to return at the following meeting. The researcher called back to subsequent meetings twice to collect questionnaires that were brought in. Three hundred and seventy seven questionnaires were collected, averaging 45 from each area.

PART 2.1.2

SUBJECTS CHARACTERISTICS

This section explores the characteristics of the individuals who participated in this survey. The total number of respondents was 377, with 235 being female and 142 male.

The subjects ranged from 60 to 85 years of age, with:

84	subjects in the	60-64	age group
104	"	65-69	"
111	"	70-74	"
45	"	75-79	"
27	"	80-84	"
5	"	85	years and over group

There was no attempt to balance for gender which resulted in a greater number of females in the sample (62% were females).

Overall approximately half the number of respondents lived with one or more persons (91 (39%) females and 104 (73%) males shared accommodation.)

Detailed demographic information for the overall sample is given in Tables 1 and 2.

TABLE 1        Subjects Characteristics Demographic (Rural)

Entire Sample	Sex (%)	
	Male	Female
60- 64 years	35	20
65 - 69    "	12	40
70 - 74    "	14	34
75 - 79    "	7	18
80 - 84    "	3	9
85 and over	1	2

**TABLE 2            Subjects Characteristics Demographic (Urban)**

Dwelling	Sex (%)	
	Male	Female
60 - 64 years	13	16
65 - 69    "	17	36
70 - 74    "	23	40
75 - 79    "	10	10
80 - 84    "	7	8
85 and over	0	2

## **PART II**

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### **DATA COLLECTION**

Part II Data Collection encompasses two segments which cover the Questionnaire and the Research Procedure.

#### **PART 2.2.1**

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### **QUESTIONNAIRE**

Data for the present study were gathered using a four page questionnaire (See Appendix A). This questionnaire was designed to address the questions outlined in Chapter One Section 4-3. The questionnaire included some open-ended questions on what respondents considered were the worst crimes in society, their most feared crime and their responses to possible victimisation.

The questions were divided into five Sections: A, B, C, D and E, with each section dealing with different aspects of crime and fear of crime.

- A: Knowledge of crime
- B: Fear of crime
- C: Types of crimes elderly most fear and the possibilities of personal victimisation.
- D: Elderly perception for protection against crime by their local police and reporting crime to police.
- E: Other concerns more significant than crime.

At the beginning of the questionnaire - personal information concerning area of residence, sex, type of residence, and how many other people do they share their dwelling with, was asked.

Section A consisted of questions devised by the researcher about respondents knowledge of criminal offences - committed in their area and on people over the age of 60 years.

Studies have repeatedly shown that elderly individuals frequently overestimate their vulnerability towards crime (Stafford & Galle, 1984). War (1986) suggested that a possible reason for this is their lack of information regarding crime rates and faulty information about objective risks, including incorrect information from the media. Section A examines respondents knowledge of crime and their personal experience of crime.

Section B and C deals with fear of crime and the types of crimes elderly are most afraid of.

Section B, Fear of Crime was measured by asking people if they felt their area was a safe place to live, when do they feel most vulnerable to crime (day, night or both?), what age group do they regard has the most vulnerability to crime and what measures do they take to protect themselves from possible victimisation.

In Section C, subjects were asked to list what they thought were the worst crimes that happen in society and then to describe crimes that they most fear. The subjects then rated on a Likert-type scale the possibilities of those crimes occurring to themselves. Because the focus of the present study is on recording the types of crimes that the elderly most fear and not on measurement of their fear levels, the questions addressed in this section had the word crime included, so that the subjects were fully aware what was being asked by the researcher. At the beginning of each meeting the definition of crime was explained by the researcher as any harm or

action, e.g. assault, thief etc. occurring to the respondent or to their property, that would be considered as breaking the law.

The fourth section (D) of the questionnaire was concerned with information regarding the local police and reporting crime to them. It has been suggested that criminal data recording victimisation information do not provide an accurate account of victimisation rates due to many victims not reporting their victimisation to the police (Kilpatrick et.al. 1987; Robinson 1989; Lindsey 1991). Also overseas studies (Skogan 1986; Sparks 1982) have indicated that many individuals, including the elderly, thought that the police could do little in protecting them from possible victimisation. Section D addresses both of these issues.

Section E seeks to gain some indication if crime is a major concern for elderly individuals such as health, income, death etc. The questionnaire was preceded with information concerning the subject age.

## **PART 2.2.2**

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### **RESEARCH PROCEDURE**

#### Researcher

All the questionnaires were handed out by the author, a 41 year old female postgraduate psychology student.

A pilot study was conducted to determine if elderly individuals participating in the present study, would fully understand the questions being asked by the researcher. The major task of the pre-test was to sort out problems with the questionnaire, and to elicit comments on its context. The pilot sample was drawn from 10 individuals, over 60 years, that reside in the Christchurch urban area. The questionnaire proved to be adequate

in that all of the ten individuals fully understood the questions.

### Procedure

The survey was administered by distributing a questionnaire at eight senior citizen clubs and four Probus clubs. The clubs were selected on the basis of their geographic distribution throughout the city and rural areas. Subjects either filled out the questionnaires in the presence of the researcher or took them home to be filled out and returned at the following week's meeting. If any questions arose after reading the instructions, or during the completion of the questionnaire, the researcher tried to respond in a non-committal way. Most people took between ten to fifteen minutes to complete the questionnaire, including filling out the personal information at the beginning. After each participant finished filling in the questionnaire, it was then handed back to the researcher.



## PART III

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### DATA ANALYSES

Analyses of the quantitative data were conducted on an Apple Macintosh computer using the statistical software package - Statview. After considering the options available and their relative appropriateness to the dataset of the current study, one type of statistical test was conducted in data analysis.

Chi-square tests were carried out that established whether there was a significant relationship between variables for sections A, B, C, D, and E. These tests determine the strength of relationship between two variables, and how such variables account for variations in dependent results across a sample. Results of these statistics were taken as significant if the p-value was, .05 or less.

The frequency distribution for specific questions within each section was recorded and put into histograms which are presented in Chapter 3, Sections A, B, C, D and E.

# **CHAPTER THREE**

## **RESULTS**

## **PART I**

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### **INTRODUCTION**

The results of the present study are presented in Parts 3.1.1 to 3.1.5. Chi-squares were computed for questions in each Part - Sections A, B, C, D and E.

In addition, histograms are used to show the frequency distribution for specific questions. The calculations are presented in five parts. The first Part (3.1.1) will deal with the results of Section A of the Questionnaire - Knowledge of Crime. The second (3.1.2) and third (3.1.3) Parts deals with results from Section B - Fears of Crime and Section C - Types of Crimes Elderly most fear. The fourth (3.1.4) and fifth (3.1.5) Parts present results for Section D - Elderly Reporting Crimes to the police and their perception of their local police for protection against crime and Section E - Elderly Individuals major concerns.

As there was a poor response from elderly individuals who live in institutions (2%), issues relating to whether individuals living in institutions fear the same crimes as those living in private households, are not analysed.

### **PART 3.1.1**

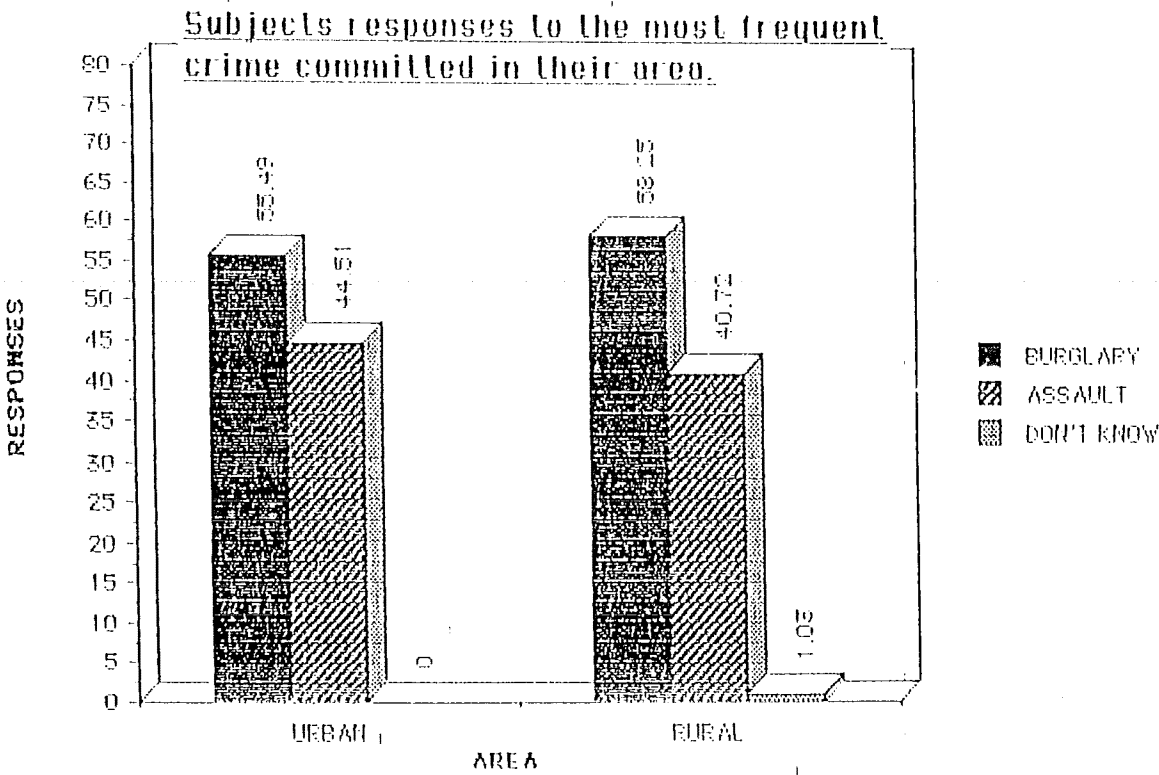
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#### **SECTION A - ELDERLY INDIVIDUALS KNOWLEDGE OF CRIME**

Chi-squares disclosed that there were no differences ( $\chi^2 = .641$ ,  $df = 2$ ,  $n = 376$   $p = .7259$ ,  $<.05$  n.s.), between females' and males' perception of the major crimes being committed in their areas, (56% [130] females and 59% [84] males both recording burglary). Similarly, there was no difference ( $\chi^2 = 2.317$ ,  $df = 2$ ,  $n = 376$   $p = .3139$   $<.05$  n.s.) between elderly who live in rural and urban areas (see Figure 1), with 55.49% [101] urban and 58.25%

[113] rural respondents recording burglary as the major crime followed by 44.51% [81] urban and 40.72% [79] rural respondents recording assault.

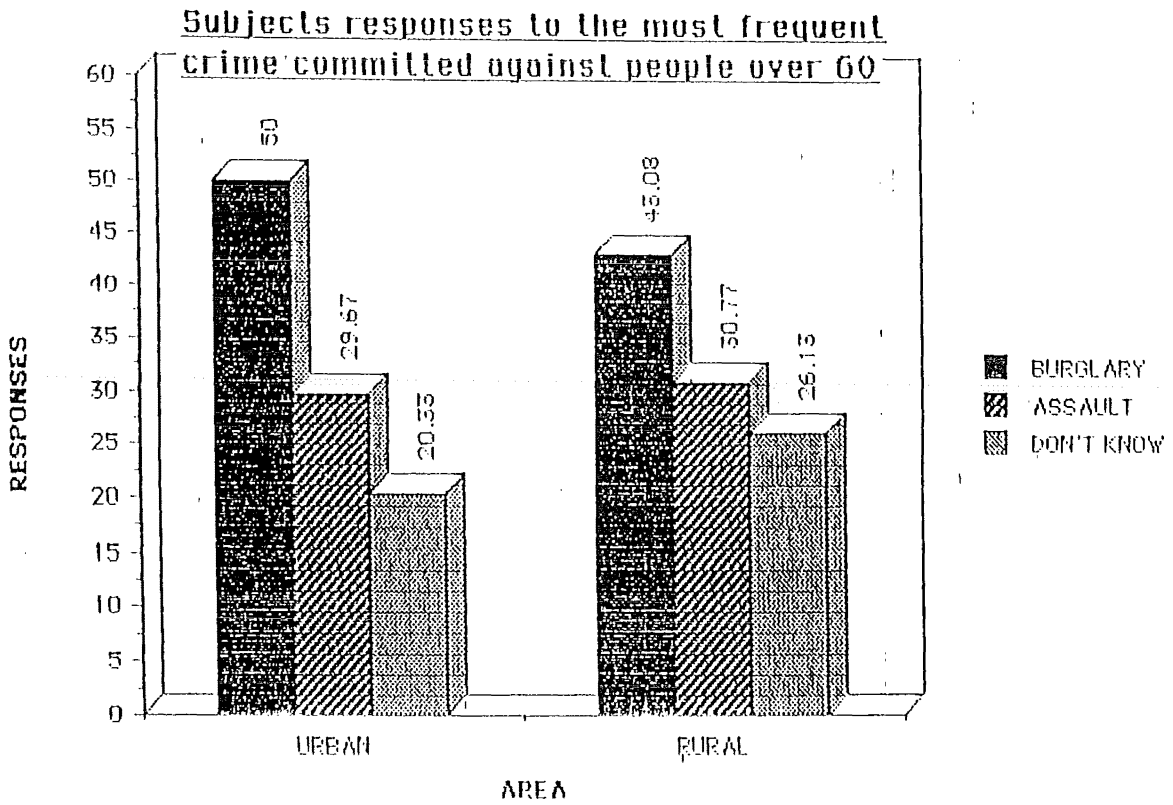
Figure 1:



With regard to respondents perception of the crime that is most frequently committed on people over the age of 60, there was no significant difference between gender ( $\chi^2 = 1.141$ ,  $df = 2$ ,  $n = 377$   $p = .5653 < .05$  n.s.), or the area in which they resided in ( $\chi^2 = 2.378$ ,  $df = 2$ ,  $n = 377$   $p = .3046 < .05$  n.s.) (See Figure 2). Elderly people who live in rural and urban areas of Christchurch, feel that the most frequent crimes committed against individuals 60 and over are:

	Urban		Rural	
Burglary	50%	[91]	43.08%	[84]
Assault	27.67%	[54]	30.77%	[60]
Don't Know	20.33%	[37]	26.13%	[51]

Figure 2:



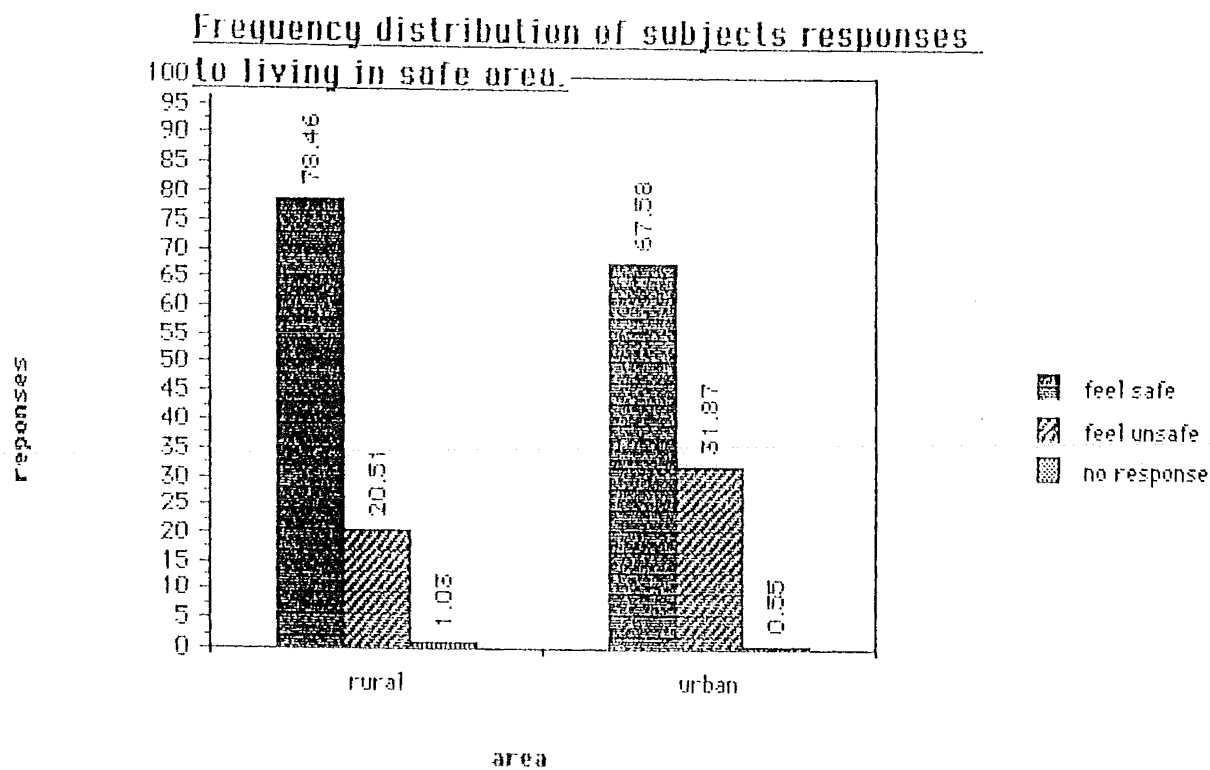
### PART 3.1.2

#### SECTION B - FEAR OF CRIME

Chi-squares show significant results for respondents perception of 'if they felt that they lived in a safe area'. ( $\chi^2 = 6.46$ ,  $df = 2$ ,  $n = 377$   $p = .0396 < .05$ ) (See Figure 3).

(Please see Figure 3 next page).

Figure 3:

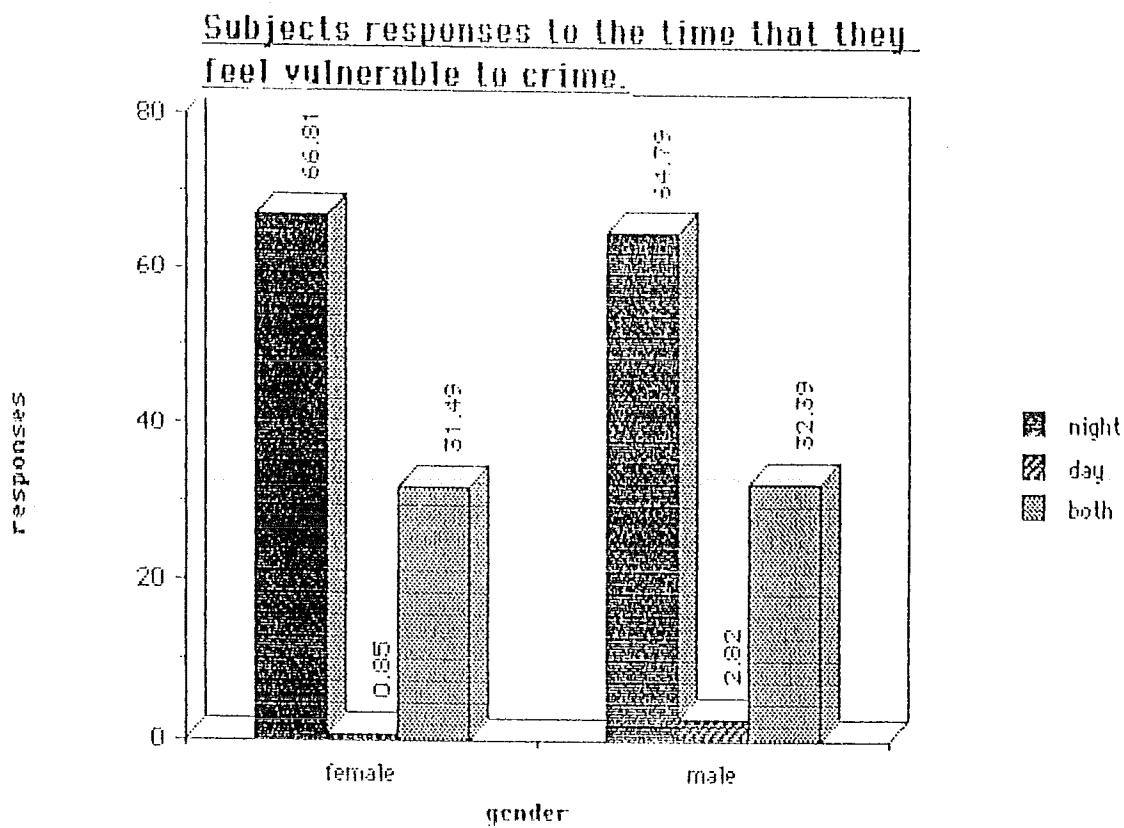


As indicated in Figure 3 the majority of elderly individuals living in either rural (78.46% [153] ) or urban (67.58% [123] ) areas perceive that they live in a safe area, whereas 20.51% [40] rural and 31.87% [58] urban, feel that they do not., Out of those who do not feel safe, it was found that 65% [26] rural and 47% [27] urban, had been a victim of crime.

With regard to elderly individuals feelings of vulnerability to possible victimisation, Figure 4 shows that 66% [127] females and 64% [92] males feel that they are more vulnerable to crime during the night. Whereas 31% [74] females and 32% [46] males reported that they do not feel safe against crime, both day and night.

(Please see Figure 4 next page).

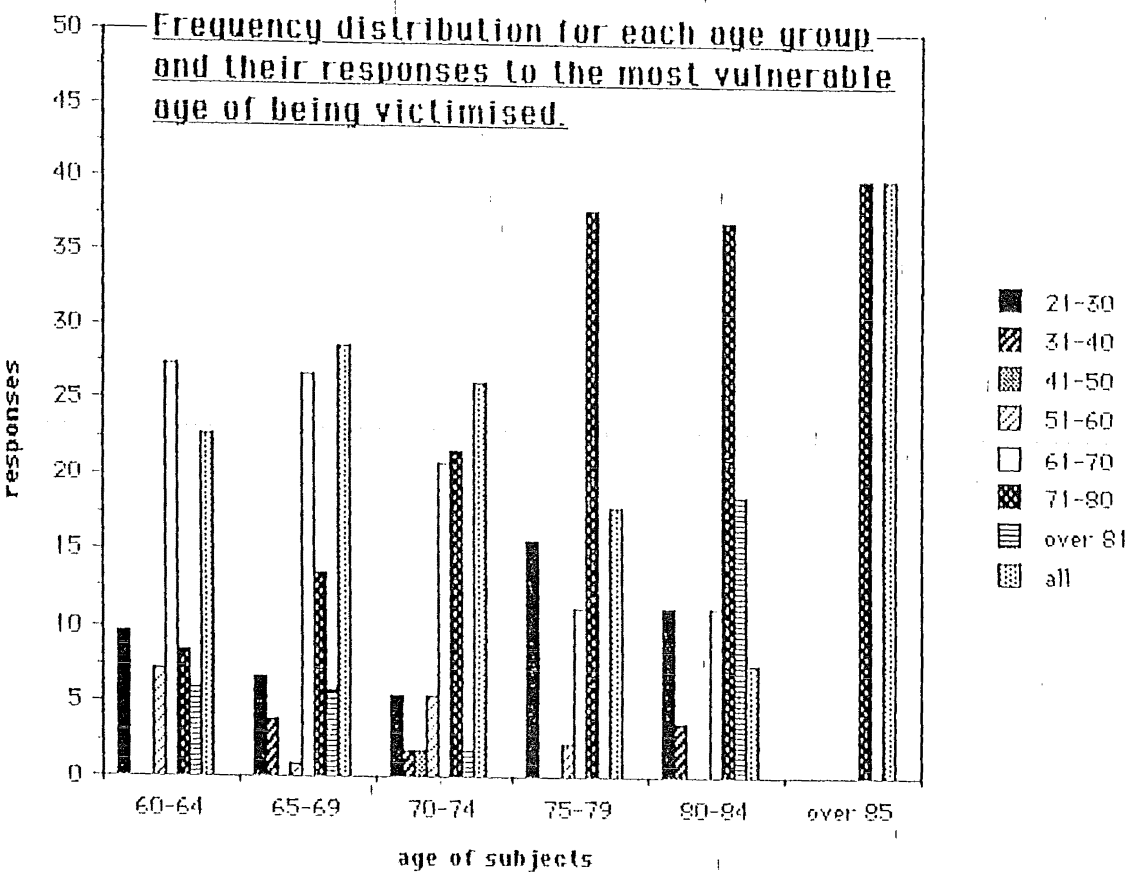
Figure 4:



Furthermore, when respondents were asked to record what age group they thought was the most vulnerable to possible victimisation, it was found that the majority of elderly surveyed reported (See Figure 5) the age group that was the nearest to their own, for example, people aged between:

- 60-64 recorded 61-70 being the age that is most vulnerable to possible victimisation
- 65-69 recorded all ages are vulnerable
- 70-74 recorded all ages are vulnerable
- 75-79 recorded 71-80 as being the most vulnerable
- 80-84 recorded 71-80 as being the most vulnerable
- Over 85 50% recorded 71-80 and the other 50% recorded all ages are vulnerable

Figure 5:



As part of Section B the Questionnaire included an open ended question on what elderly people do to protect themselves from possible victimisation. The researcher categorised responses under the following headings.

- Locks includes:

Dead locks

Heavy duty locks

Special locks fitted to windows and doors
- Alarms:

Refers to all burglar alarms
- Lights Includes:

Sensor lights

Lights being left on all night

Special lights fitted on trees or garages for added protection against night break-ins.

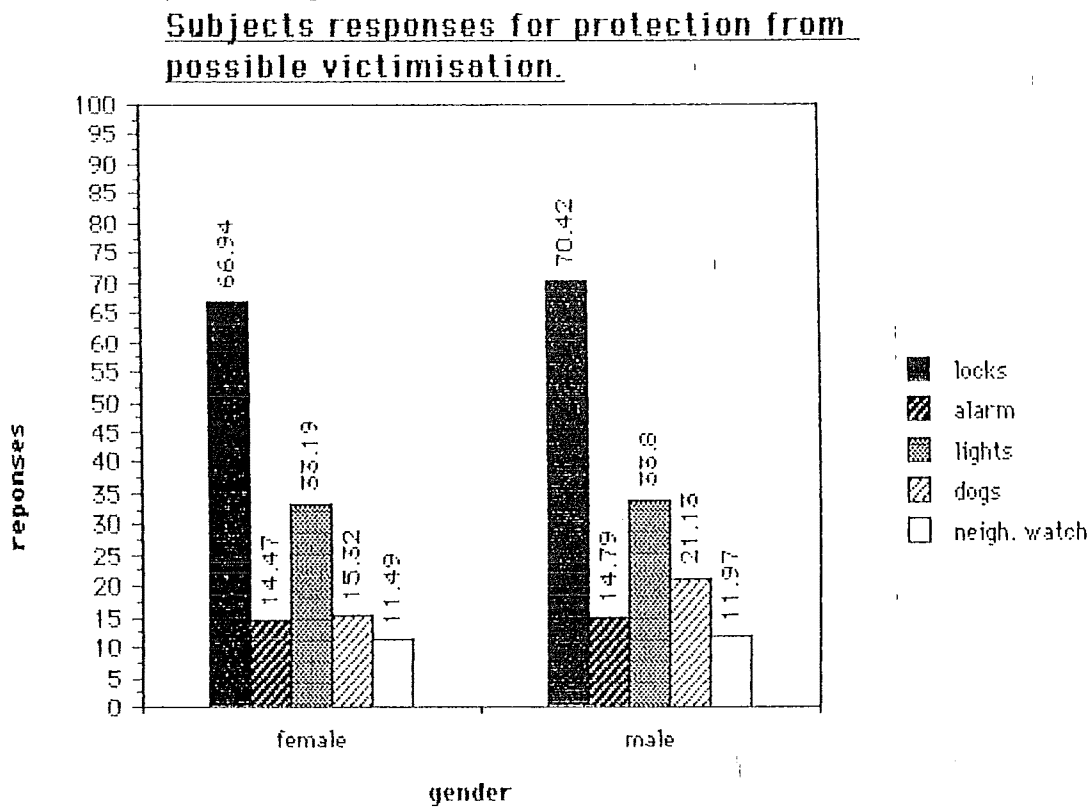


Neighbourhood Watch Involved a neighbourhood group  
Individuals keeping a close watch on other  
people's property

Chi-squares disclosed no difference between female and male methods used for protecting themselves from victimisation ( $\chi^2 = .007$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $n = 377$   $p = .9319 < .05$  n.s.) (See Figure 6) With 68% [162] females and 70% [100] males using locks for protection.

33%	[78] females	and	33%	[48] males	using lights for protection
15%	[36] females	and	21%	[30] males	using dogs for protection
14%	[34] females	and	14%	[21] males	using alarms for protection
11%	[27] females	and	11%	[17] males	using neighbourhood watch

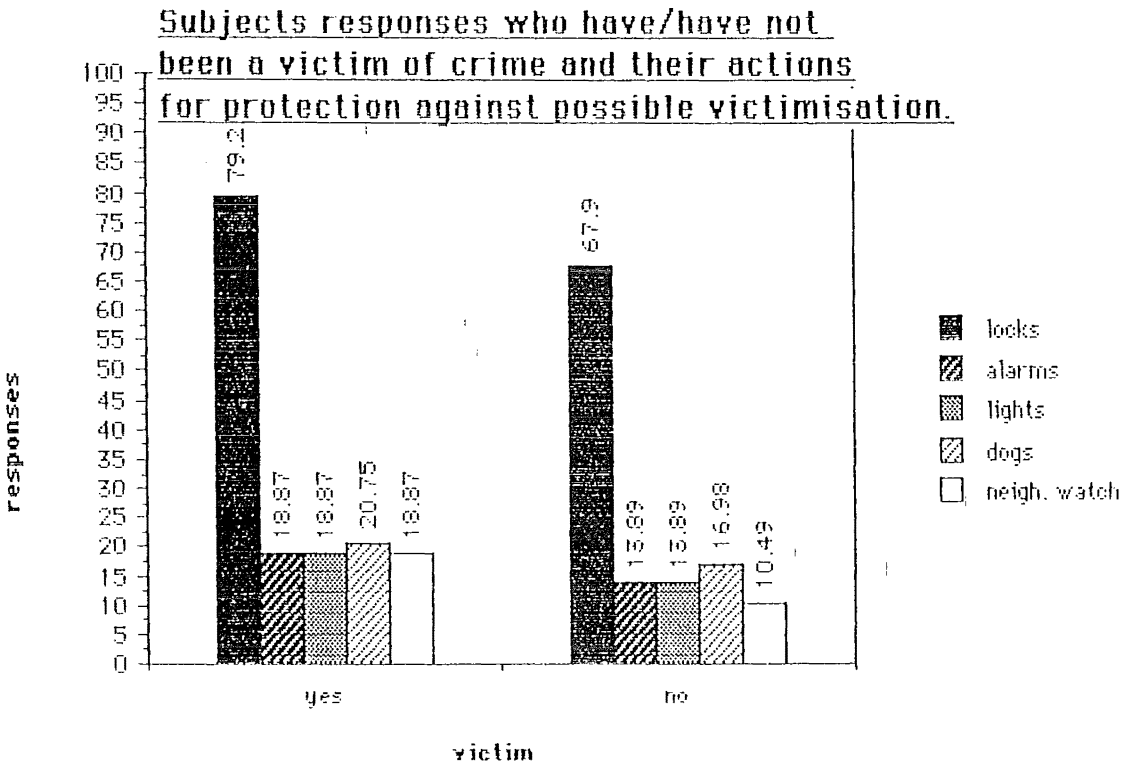
Figure 6:



Also results (see Figure 7) showed that the majority of the elderly that live in rural (65% [127] and urban 74% [135] ) areas preferred locks as their main method for protection, followed by lights - rural (41% [75] ) and urban (41% [75] ), then alarms - rural (10% [20] ) and urban (19% [35] ).

Dogs were used more in rural areas 24% [47] than in urban 10% [19] for protection, whereas more urban dwellers 17% [31] than rural 6% [13] preferred neighbourhood watch.

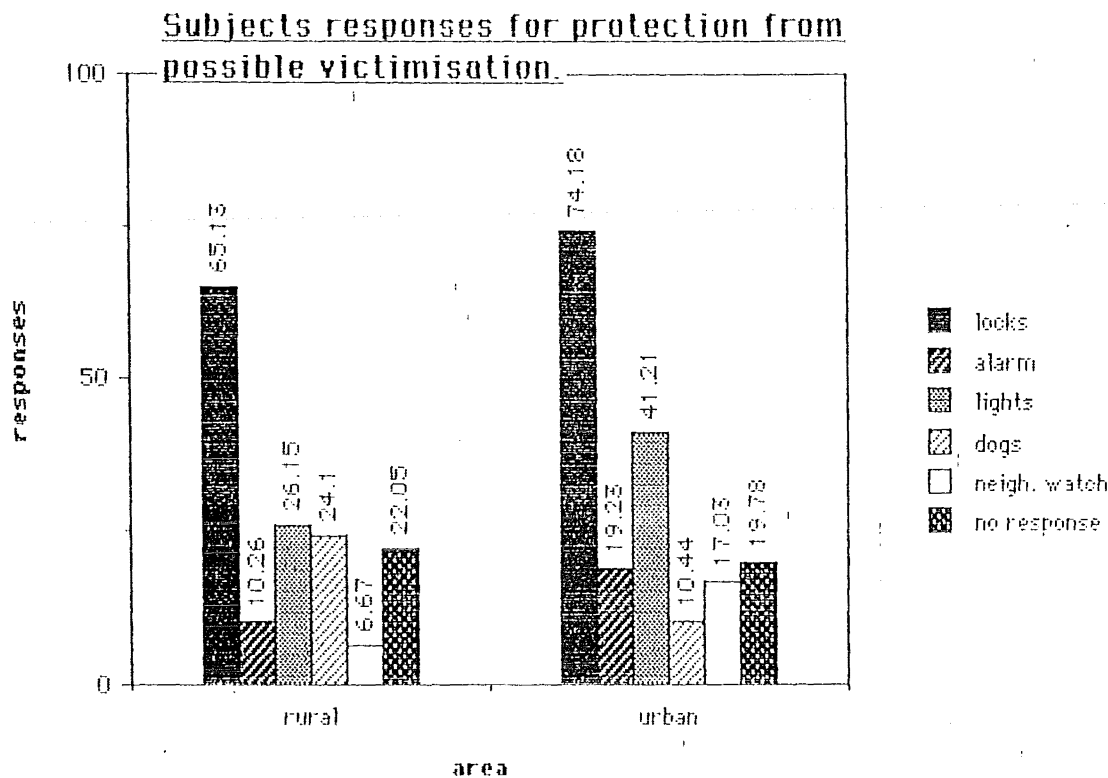
Figure 7:



Additional findings show individuals who have been a victim of crime use similar methods for protection to those who have not been victimised. The results of this finding are clearly shown in Figure 8, with locks being the most popular method for protection for those who have been a victim

(79% [42] ) and have not been a victim (67% [220] ). Additionally, alarms, lights, dogs and neighbourhood watch were the next most popular for both groups.

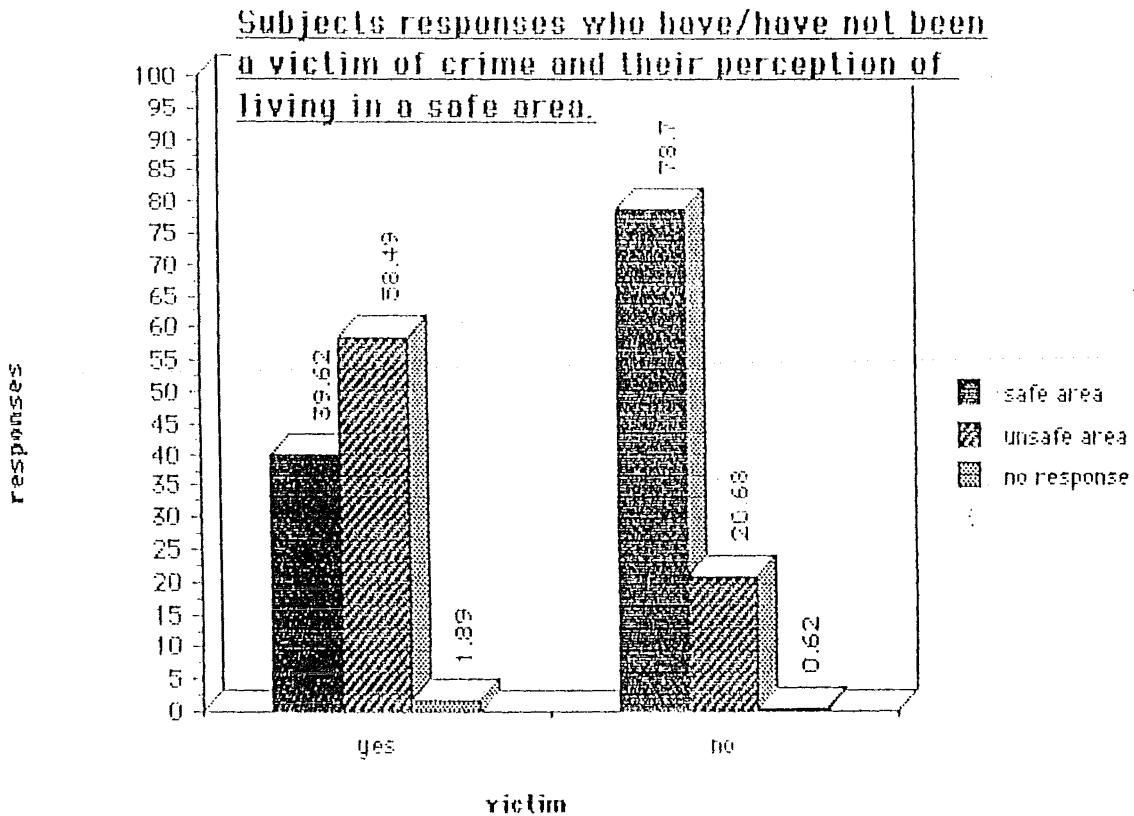
Figure 8:



Furthermore, of those who have been a victim of crime (See Figure 9) 39.62% [21] thought that they lived in a safe area, whereas 58.49% [32] considered their area to be unsafe. In contrast, of those who have not been victimised, 78.7% [255] thought they lived in a safe area and 20.68% [67] thought they did not.

(Please see Figure 9 next page.)

Figure 9:



### PART 3.1.3

#### SECTION C - TYPES OF CRIME ELDERLY MOST FEAR

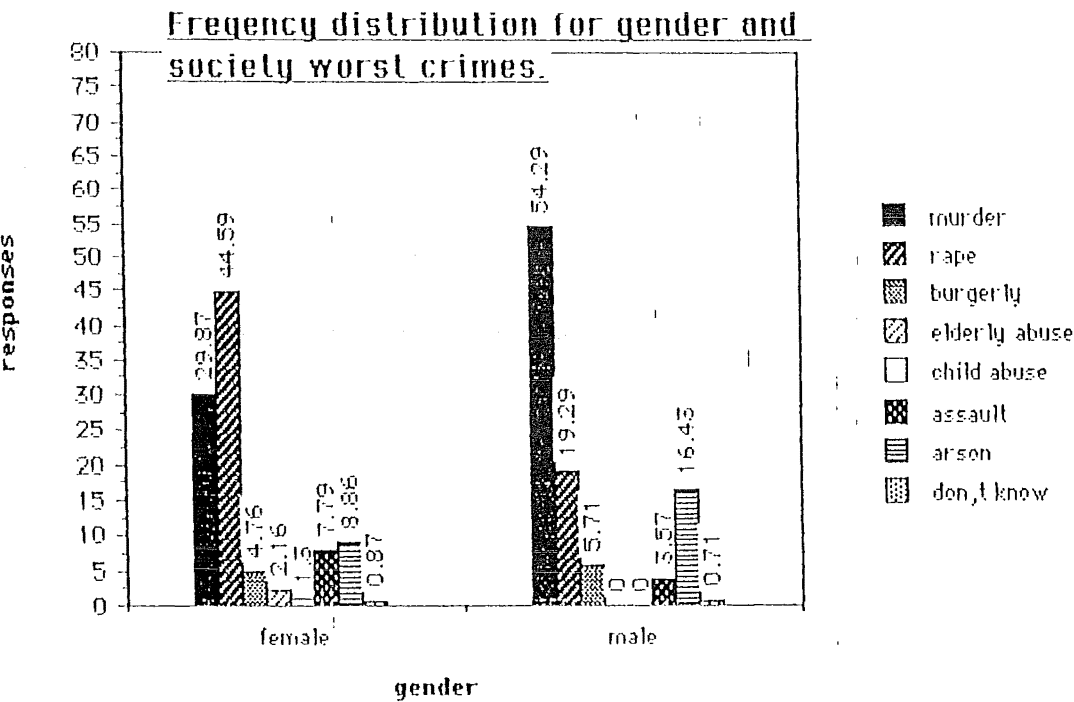
Section C deals with individuals perception of what they thought was the worst crime in society, what crimes respondents most fear and their views on whether their most feared crime could happen to them.

As Section C dealt with open ended questions, the researcher categorised respondents responses under the following headings.

- Assault included: All physical attacks  
Violent attacks using a weapon (e.g.gun, knife )  
Armed robbery while occupant was in the house
- Burglary included: All house/flat break-ins  
Property being vandalised
- Theft included: Being asked for money by strangers  
Bikes or cars being stolen  
Purse snatching  
Fraud by solicitors
- Elderly Abuse included:  
Swindled out of money by family members  
Being pushed/shoved by other individuals  
Not being given back right amount of change by  
shop owners/tellers  
Abusive telephone calls after one's partner had died  
Tradesmen charging more than normal rates  
Being physically/verbally abused by young teenagers  
when out walking

Chi-squares disclosed a significant relationship between gender and what individuals thought was society's worst crime ( $\chi^2 = 41.297$ ,  $df = 7$ ,  $n = 371$   $p = .0001 < 0.5$ ), indicating that both females and males described murder or rape as the worst crime committed in society. (See Figure 10) With 54.2% [76] males considered murder was the worst crime committed, followed by rape 19.29% [27], then arson 16.43% [23]. Whereas in contrast females considered rape 44.59% [103] being the worst crime followed by murder 29.87% [69]. Females third worst society's crime included assault 7.79% [18] and arson 8.66% [20].

Figure 10:



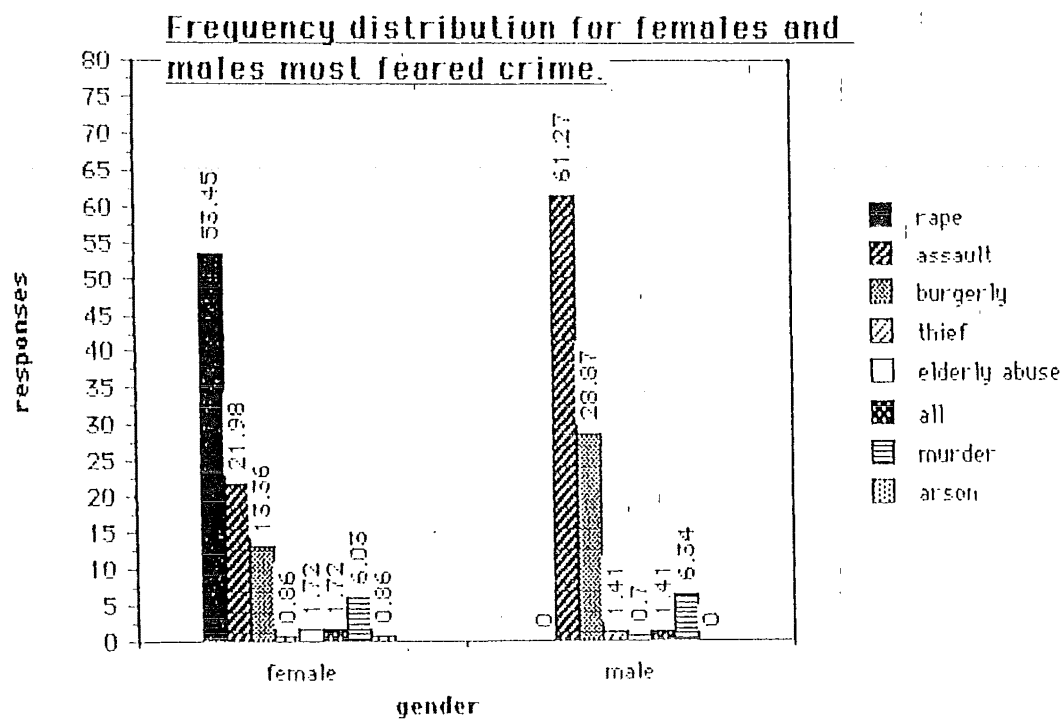
Further analysis of society's worst crime with area ( $\chi^2 = 4.939$ ,  $df = 7$ ,  $n = 371$   $p = .6674 < .05$  n.s.) and age ( $\chi^2 = 35.918$ ,  $df = 35$ ,  $n = 371$   $p = .4253 < .05$  n.s.) revealed no significant differences.

These calculations indicate that there is no relationship between the age of respondents or where they live and their perception of society's worst crimes.

With regard to individuals most feared crime, there was a significant different between females and males most feared crimes ( $\chi^2 = 125.971$ ,  $df = 7$ ,  $n = 374$   $p = .0001 < .05$ ).

As shown in Figure 11, males reported that they feared being assaulted (61.27% [87] ) followed by being burglarised (28.87% [41] ). Whereas females reported rape (53.45% [124] ) followed by assault (21.98% [31] ).

Figure 11:

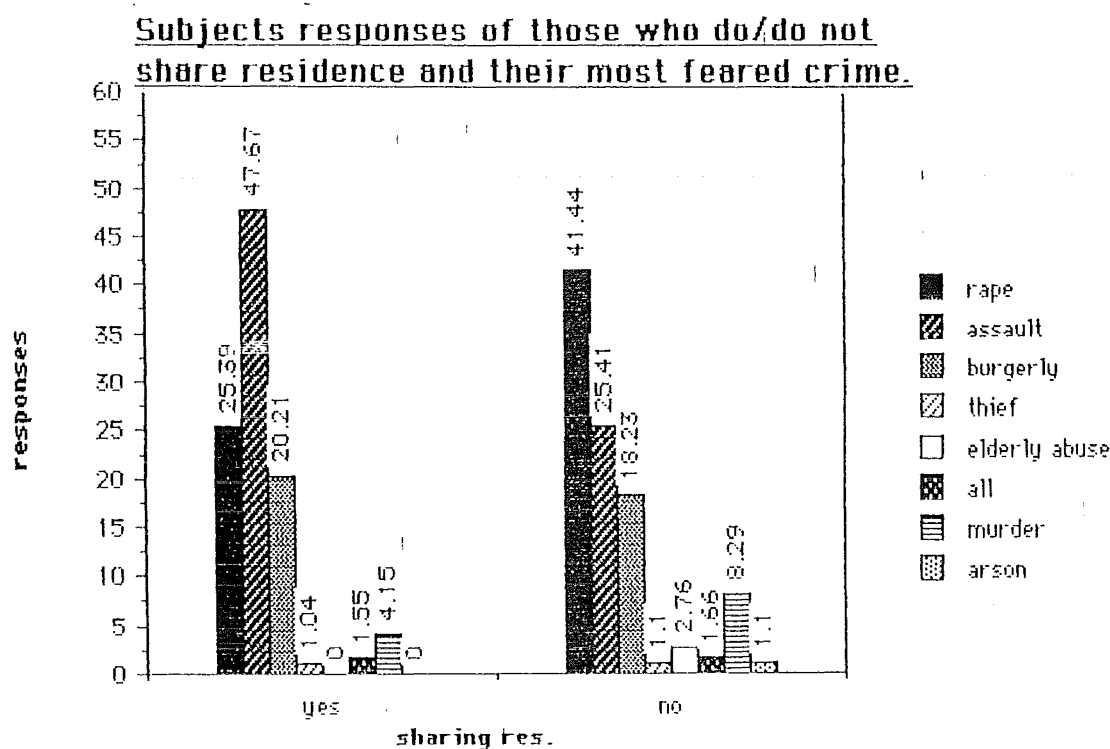


When area and age of elderly individuals were compared with their most feared crimes, the results showed no difference between area ( $x^2 = 9.435$ ,  $df = 7$ ,  $n = 374$   $p = .2229 < .05$  n.s.) or age ( $x^2 = 38.146$ ,  $df = 35$ ,  $n = 374$   $p = .3283 < .05$  n.s.).

However, as can be seen in the histogram (Figure 12) there is a significant difference between those who live alone and those who share. ( $x^2 = 30.061$ ,  $df = 7$ ,  $n = 375$   $p = .0001 < .05$ ). The majority of those living alone fear rape (41.44% [75] ) and assault (25.41% [46] ). Whereas, those who share their

residence fear assault (47.67% [92] ) followed by rape (25.39% [49] ). Burglary was moderate for both groups of respondents - sharing residence (20.21% [39] ) and living alone (18.23% [33] ).

Figure 12:



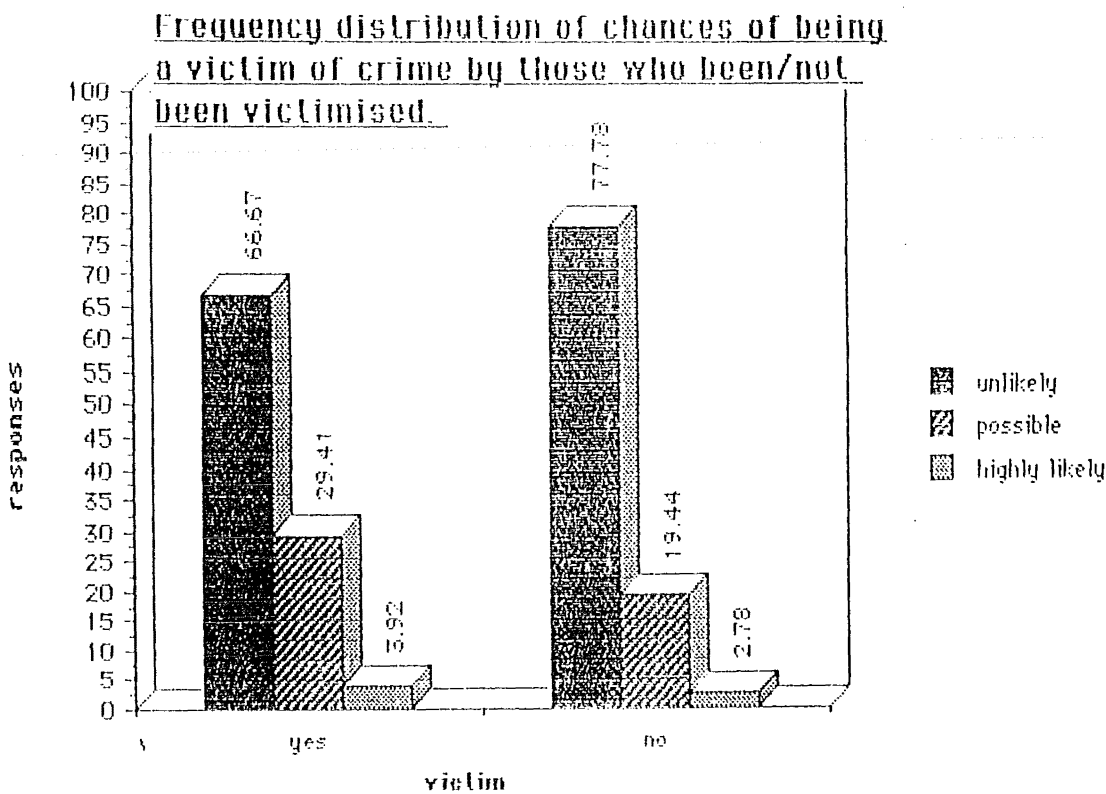
There is no statistical significant relationship between living alone or sharing their residence and perception of possible victimisation. ( $x^2 = 1.264$ ,  $df = 2$ ,  $n = 375$   $p = .5315 < .05$  n.s.). Also there was no relationship between gender ( $x^2 = 5.22$ ,  $df = 2$ ,  $n = 375$   $p = .0735$  n.s.) and age ( $x^2 = 11.363$ ,  $df = 10$ ,  $n = 375$   $p = .33 < .05$  n.s.) and the perceived chances of being a victim of crime.

Additionally as seen Figure 13 those who have been a victim of crime thought the chances of them being revictimised was very low, with those



who have been a victim of crime, 66.67% [34] felt it was unlikely that they would be revictimised. 29.41% [15] thought it was possible and only 3.92% [2] considered it was highly likely. Whereas, those who have not been a victim, 77.78% [252] felt it was unlikely, 19.44% [63] possible and 2.78% [9] highly likely to be victimised.

Figure 13:



PART 3.1.4

SECTION D - REPORTING CRIMES AND RESPONDENTS  
PERCEPTION OF THEIR LOCAL POLICE

Chi-squares disclosed no significant relationship between reporting crimes to police and where one lives ( $x^2 = .191$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $n = 377$   $p = .6625 < .05$  n.s.).

(See Figure 14) Also there was no relationship between age of the respondent and reporting crimes ( $x^2 = 3.848$ ,  $df = 5$ ,  $n = 377$   $p = .5715 < .05$  n.s.).

Figure 14:

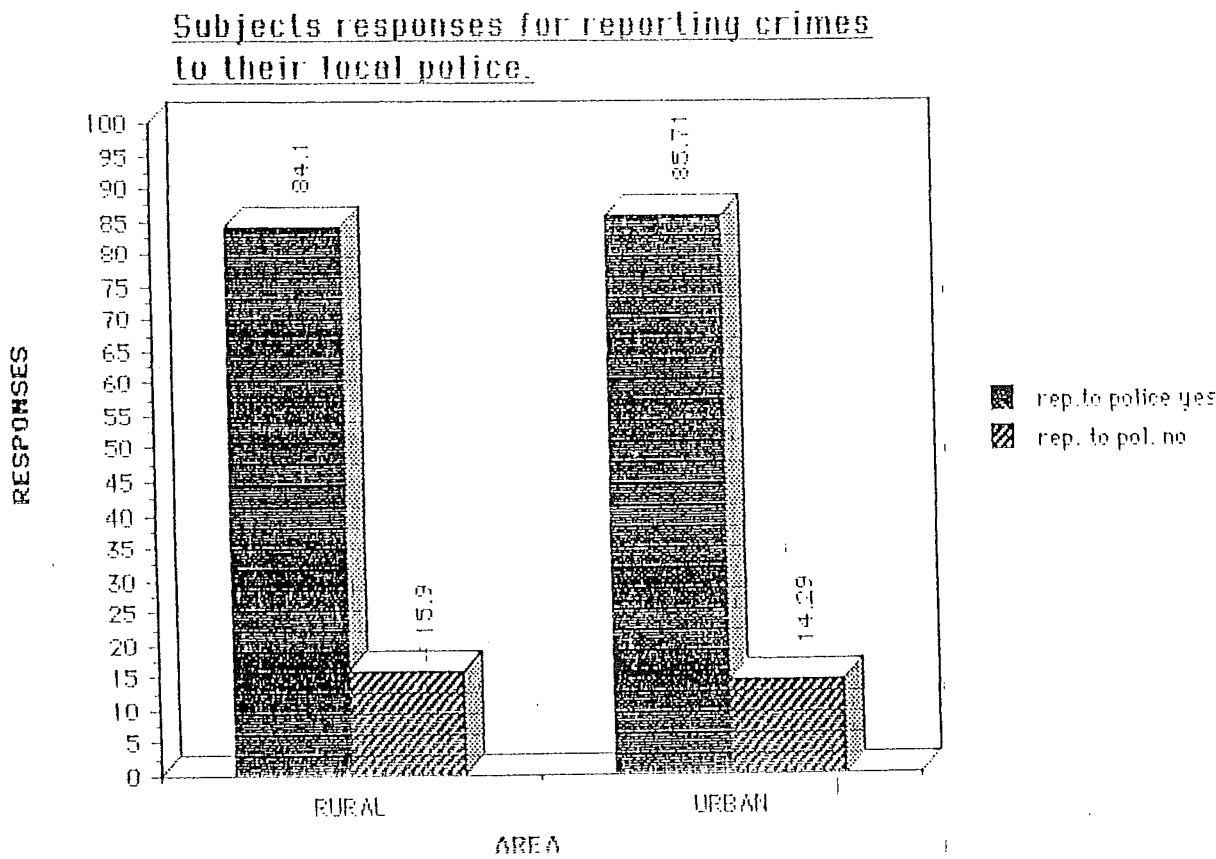


Figure 14 shows elderly people who live in rural (84.1% [164] ) and urban (85.71% [156] ) areas would report crimes to the police, even petty crimes. Only a small percentage (15.9% [31] rural, and 14.29% [26] urban ) said that they would not report all crimes.

With regard to how respondents felt about the police providing protection against possible victimisation, no difference was found between area ( $x^2 = 2.04$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $n = 377$   $p = .1532 < .05$  n.s.), age ( $x^2 = 8.858$ ,  $df = 5$ ,  $n = 377$   $p = .1149 < .05$  n.s.) and gender ( $x^2 = 1.284$ ,  $df = 1$   $n = 377$   $p = .2572 < .05$  n.s.).

These results indicate that individuals over the age of 60 who live in Christchurch rural and urban areas, would report crimes to the police and they perceive that they can rely on their local police to protect them from possible victimisation.

### **PART 3.1.5**

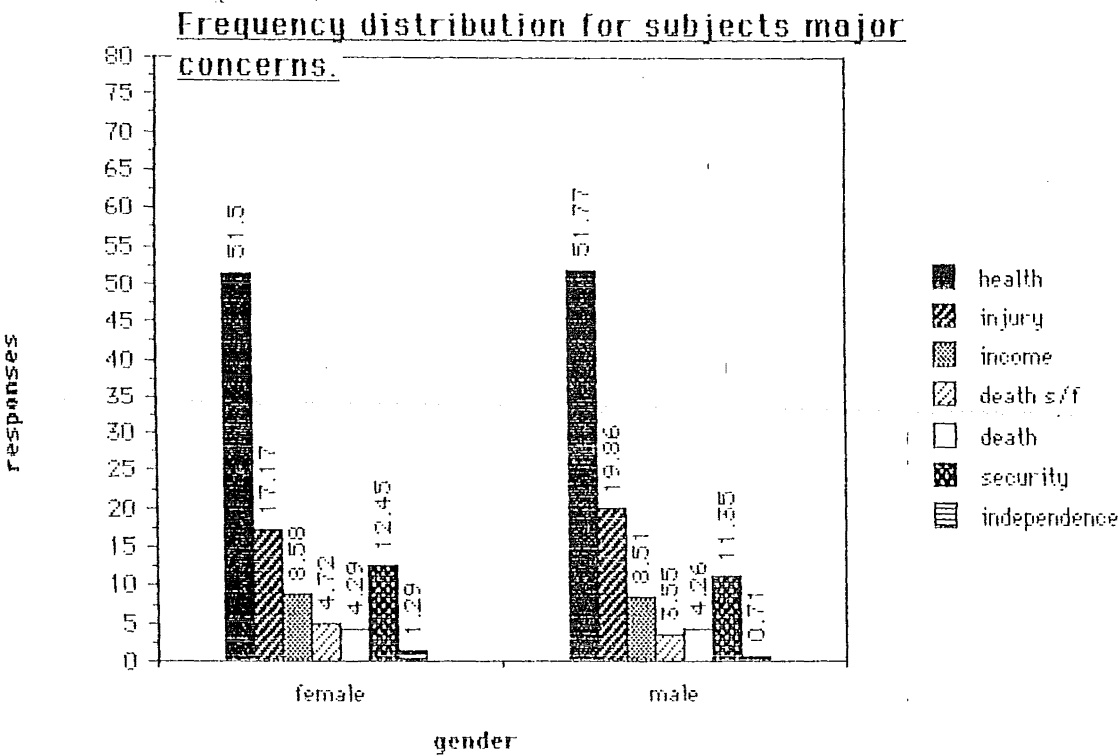
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#### **SECTION E - RESPONDENTS MAJOR CONCERNS**

Chi-squares disclosed no relationship between gender and respondents major concerns ( $x^2 = .998$ ,  $df = 6$ ,  $n = 374$   $p = .9857 < .05$  n.s.). As seen in Figure 15, females (51.5% [120] ) and males (51.77% [73] ) thought their health was the major concern in their lives followed by injury (females 17.17% [40], males 19.86% [28] ), then security (females 12.45% [29], males 11.35% [16] ).

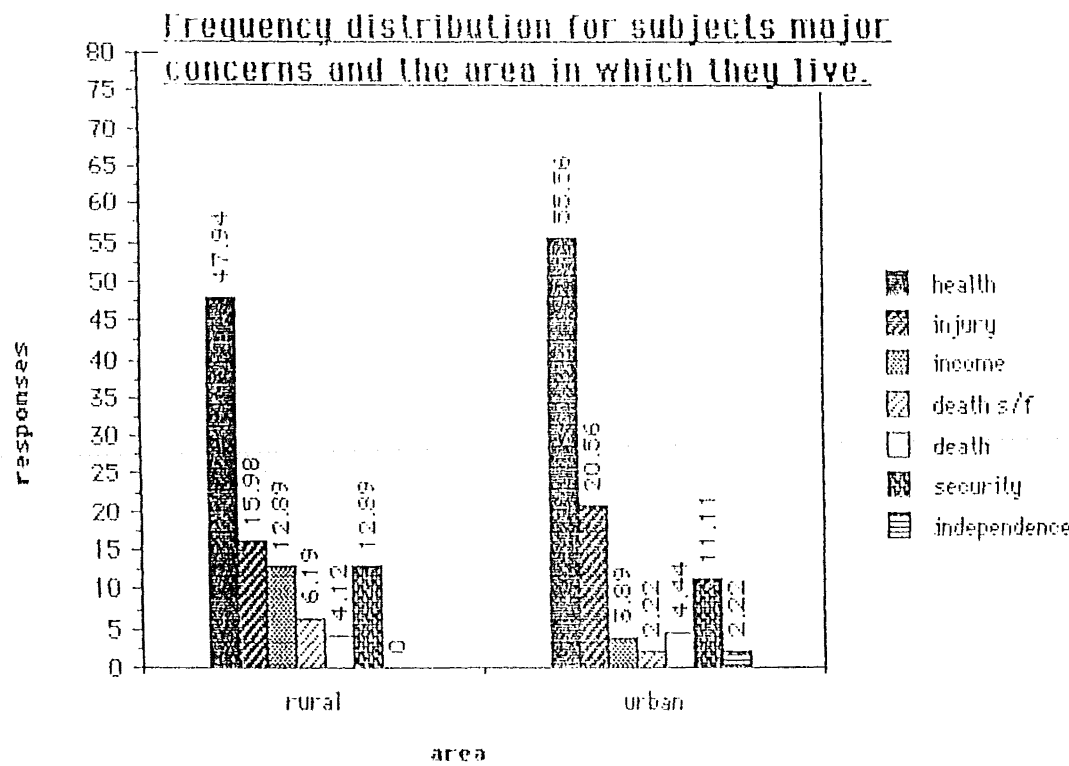
(Please see Figure 15 next page).

Figure 15:



Finally, results for rural and urban elderly people and their major concerns were similar (See Figure 16). Rural (47.94% [93] ) and urban (55.56% [100] ) elderly considered their health was most important, followed by injury (rural 15.98% [31], urban 20.56% [37] ), then security (rural 12.89% [25], urban 11.11% [20] ). One difference between the elderly who reside in rural areas and urban areas that emerged from the results, was that more rural (12.89% [25] ) than urban (3.89% [7] ) elderly were concerned about their incomes.

Figure 16:



# CHAPTER FOUR

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## DISCUSSION

**PART I**

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**INTRODUCTION**

In the first section of the discussion the results of the present research are summarised. This is followed by a General Discussion which links the present study to other relevant research findings. The Limitations of the Current Study are outlined and finally, Directions for Future Research are discussed.

## PART II

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### THE PRESENT STUDY

The research aimed to produce general information on fear of crime in people 60 years of age and over, their knowledge of crime, the type of offence they most fear, their responses to crime and their personal experiences of crime.

The study additionally investigated the level of reporting of all types of crime to the police by elderly people, as well as their perceptions of local police as protectors against possible victimisation.

#### Section A: Knowledge of Crime

The first part of the questionnaire, Section A, compared the area that elderly individuals lived in (Urban = New Brighton, Christchurch South, Papanui, Christchurch Central, and Rural = Rangiora, Kaiapoi, Hornby, Lyttelton), with their knowledge of crime as a problem in their area.

The second part of Section A investigated elderly people's knowledge of crimes most frequently committed on people aged 60 and over.

As shown in the Results Section (Figure 1), it was found that the majority (73%) of elderly who were questioned (regardless of gender, age, or the area where they live) perceive burglary as the main crime committed in their area.

Furthermore, the Results (Figures 2) for the second part show that 46% of the elderly questioned felt burglary was one of the most frequently committed crimes on elderly individuals while 30% reported it was assault. The other 23% did not know.



Although there are no statistics available on the types of crimes committed on elderly individuals in New Zealand, information from the Christchurch Police Department (1993) shows 57% of crimes committed in urban and rural areas are theft related such as cars, bikes and shop lifting, followed by 21% property losses and vandalism 13%. Domestic violence and assault ranked fourth and fifth respectively. These findings show respondents were more concerned about burglary than about theft despite the fact that theft occurred more frequently than burglary. Although theft, especially of motor vehicles occurred slightly more often than both burglary and assault, people were more likely to identify burglary and assault as major crime problems. Robinson et.al. (1989) found crimes such as breaking and entering, are perceived by elderly people as having more serious consequences than other forms of property offences, as they produce a sense of violation as well as property loss.

#### Section B: Fear of Crime

To measure the level of fear of crime, respondents were asked whether they considered that they lived in a safe area, when they felt the most vulnerable to crime (day, night, or both), what age group they regarded as the most vulnerable to crime and what measures they took to protect themselves from possible victimisation.

As shown in the Results Section (Figure 3) over 78% of rural and 67% of urban respondents considered that they lived in a safe area, with 20% rural and 31% urban recording that they did not. Of those respondents who felt that their area was unsafe, 58% (approximately half for both rural and urban respondents) had been a victim of crime. These findings demonstrate that respondents tended to see their areas as unsafe if they

had been a victim of crime. This suggests that one source of fear of crime is personal experience of victimisation.

A second measure of the level of fear of crime was taken by asking what time of day the respondents felt most vulnerable to victimisation. The Results show (Figure 4) that 66% of all respondents reported that they were more frightened of crime during the night and 31% reported that they feared crime both day and night. There was no significant difference between gender or where respondents lived and the time of day when they felt the most vulnerable to crime. Of those feeling unsafe during both day and night, 62% had been a victim of crime.

This section also included a question on the age group considered to be the most vulnerable to possible victimisation. Overseas studies have repeatedly shown that individuals over the age of 60 are the least victimised group yet are the most fearful of crime. This study supported these findings as the majority of respondents (see Figure 5 in the Results Section) expressed that the age group most vulnerable to crime was the nearest age bracket to their own. For example, people between 60 and 64 years recorded the 61-70 age bracket as the most vulnerable age for possible victimisation.

A further objective of this study was to examine how elderly persons prepare their environment against crime. Thus a question was asked concerning security precautions that respondents had taken for protection from victimisation. The precautions the respondents recorded were:

- 69% used locks such as dead locks or special duty locks,
- 33% used lights such as sensory lights or left lights on during the night,
- 17% preferred a watch dog,

15% had special burglary alarms installed,  
 12% participated in a neighbourhood watch group,  
 21% of respondents indicated that they did not take any special precautions  
 in protecting themselves from possible victimisation.

There were no significant difference between age groups or gender (see Figure 6) in the extent to which protective strategies were adopted. Nor were those who had been victims of crime more likely to take different strategies for protection than those who had not been victims (see Figure 7).

Comparing urban and rural residences, the elderly who lived in Christchurch urban areas scored the highest ratio of lock and alarm usage whereas rural dwellers scored the highest ratio of lights, and of having a watch dog. Neighbourhood Watch groups were a protective measure that urban respondents preferred more than rural respondents (see Figure 8). Most respondents took steps to prevent crime, such as installing locks or alarms, leaving lights on, joining a Neighbourhood Watch group or obtaining a watch dog. Although the majority (66%) of individuals recorded that they feared possible victimisation during the night hours and 70% of respondents reported that they thought people aged 60 and over to be the most vulnerable to crime, over 78% rural and 67% urban respondents considered that their neighbourhood was a safe place to live.

An important factor emerges from these data. The results show that if a person had been a victim of crime, they were more likely to perceive that their neighbourhood was an unsafe place to live (see Figure 9) and not feel safe against crime during both day or night. Additionally these findings

suggest that the fear of crime increases during the night hours for both rural and urban elderly respondents.

### Section C: Types of Crime Elderly Individuals Most Fear

One of the main objectives of this study was to examine the types of crimes elderly individuals most fear. Although most studies, including the present study, do not define fear explicitly, fear for this research meant the feeling a person has if she/he becomes a victim of crime.

Previous studies measured the fear of crime by asking such questions as Is there any area where you would be afraid to walk alone at night?, or Do you feel safe walking alone in your neighbourhood at night?. These studies have shown that the majority of people, of all ages, respond that they feel unsafe walking in their neighbourhood at night. Although the age group and gender most likely to be afraid to walk alone at night is indicated, the types of crimes individuals most fear and the level of their fear is not recorded.

In order to gain more accurate information on elderly individuals fear of crime, the researcher also asked the questions, What crimes do respondents feel was Society's most worst crimes?, What type of crimes do they most fear?; and How do they perceive the chances of those crimes happening to them?

There was a significant relationship ( $p=.0001$ ) between both females and males and their perception of the worst crimes being committed in Society. As seen in the Results Section (Figure 10), more elderly men than women recorded murder, rape then arson as Society's worst crimes. whereas elderly women reported rape, murder and then arson.

There was no significant relationship between age or one's location and perception of Society's worst crimes.

With regard to the type of crime respondents most fear, the results showed a significant relationship ( $p=.0001$ ) between females and males and the crimes they were most afraid of. There is also a significant relationship ( $p=.0001$ ) between those who live alone and those who share with others and the types of crime most feared. As shown in the Results Section (Figure 11) assault was the greatest fear for 61% of elderly male respondents, followed by 29% recording burglary. In contrast 53% of elderly females feared being sexually assaulted (raped), followed by 22% reporting assault. The fear of respondents being personally attacked was apparent in this survey for both male and females even though the chances of them being a victim of these types of crimes was very low (.08% Manderson 1990).

Whether one lives alone or with others proved to be an important factor in the type of crime most feared by elderly individuals. In Figure 12 (Results Section), the data are presented separately for those who live alone and those who share with others. Of elderly who lived alone, 41% were afraid of being raped followed by 25% fearing assault whereas of those who shared their residence with others, 48% feared assault and 25% feared being raped. The high ratio of fear of sexual offences shown in this study can be explained by the high ratio of female respondents (62%) and the high proportion of these women living alone (over 61%).

This study also attempted to measure the extent to which having been a victim of crime increases fear levels by examining those who had been a

victim and their perception of their being revictimised. The Results show (Figure 13) of those who had been a victim of crime, 67% thought it was unlikely to be revictimised and only 4% thought it was highly likely.

Many elderly people are aware of their weakness and vulnerability (Goldsmith & Goldsmith 1977, Brillon 1989). However the majority of respondents in this study recorded that they felt elderly individuals aged over 60 to be more at risk of being a victim of crime (see Section A), while also perceiving their own chances of being victimised as very low.

#### Section D: Reporting Crimes and Respondents Perception of their Local Police in protecting them from Possible Victimisation

Previous studies have shown (Brillon 1987, Robinson et.al. 1989) that elderly persons are less often the victims of crime than those in other age groups. Some researchers (Goldsmith & Goldsmith 1977) believe this finding is a result of the omission of the victims age from official crime statistics. Others (Kilpatrick et.al. 1987) state that there appears to be fewer elderly victims because many elderly do not report incidents to the police for fear of reprisals.

The present study asked two questions relating to this issue. The first asked whether respondents would report all crimes to their local police. The second asked respondents if they felt that they could rely on their local police for protection from possible victimisation. The results showed no significant relationship between gender, age, where one lives, previous victimisation experience and reporting crimes to the police. As seen in Figure 14 (Results Section) 84% rural and 86% urban respondents would report crimes to their local police and only 16% rural and 14% urban respondents reporting that they would not. Over 87% rural and 82% urban

respondents believed that they could rely on the police to protect them from possible victimisation.

The New Zealand Police were held in high regard by the majority of the respondents that lived in both rural and urban areas of Christchurch which would explain why this survey found a high percentage (85%) of respondents stating that they would report all crimes.

#### Section E: Respondents' Major Concerns

Past research (Clarke & Lewis 1982) has indicated that elderly people are more aware of crime than younger people. Furthermore the importance of crime is relatively low for elderly individuals when the daily concerns of the aged are considered.

In this present study, respondents were asked to state issues that they were most afraid of. Of the 377 persons questioned, 3% said they had no particular problems/concerns and 4% did not answer at all. Among the 93% who did answer, the concerns in order of importance were as follows:

- 51% female and 52% male reported concerns of health (aging, illness, hospitalisation etc).
- 17% female and 20% male reported concerns of injury (falling) and
- 12% female and 11% male reported concerns of security (insecurity, frustration, fear of retirement, solitude).

Financial concerns were more evident for respondents who lived in the rural areas than for those who lived in urban areas (see Figure 15). Crime was not mentioned as a concern for any of the participants of the survey. This could be a result of the questionnaire's structure. The researcher

asked the respondents to give only three of their major concerns that they most fear. As research has shown, (Goldsmith & Goldsmith 1977), physical health, income and family situations are more important to the elderly than concern for crime. Fear of crime is usually ranked 4th or 5th by elderly people, depending on the demographics of the population being questioned.

Additionally, although crime is certainly frightening, many elderly people feel (Skogan & Maxfield 1981) that with precautions it can be avoided. Aging and illness are however relatively inevitable and inescapable and thus produce greater concerns.

### Summary of Results

The results of this study indicate that a large majority of elderly individuals residing in urban and rural areas of Christchurch felt that burglary was the major crime in their areas and believed that the crimes that most frequently occur to elderly individuals are burglary and assault.

Although New Zealand does not keep official records of crimes committed on elderly people, Manderson (1990) found the elderly are the least victimised group for property offences (property stolen, 25.9%), and physical assault (0.8%). This suggests that the survey respondents lacked information on crime rates for offences on elderly people, which would thus contribute to increased feelings of vulnerability (Skogan & Maxfield 1981).

Furthermore, elderly males were more likely to fear burglary and physical assault, whereas females tended to report a fear of rape. However, rape



and assault were not major crimes for the areas of Christchurch investigated.

The study additionally showed that respondents generally do not fear crime during the day. 0.2% of males and 0.8% of females reported they felt unsafe during the day, while over 67% females and 65% males did not feel safe at night.

No difference was found between elderly people who lived in Christchurch rural and urban areas and their responses in protecting themselves against crime. Locks, alarms and sensory lights were the three major security precautions used.

Statistics from the New Zealand Police Department (1993) show that urban areas of Christchurch had 86% more crime than rural areas for 1992. However, as results revealed, the majority of elderly people living in both rural and urban areas, perceived that they lived in safe neighbourhoods and their chances of being victimised were low. Additionally, the survey showed the majority of respondents stated that they would report all crimes to the police and held their local police in high regard in giving protection against possible victimisation.

The survey revealed four main aspects of elderly's view of crime.

First, over 93% elderly individuals that lived in the areas investigated did not consider crime a major concern in their lives. Health, injury and security were rated as more important.

Second, when a person had been a victim of crime, they were more likely to

perceive their area as unsafe and felt vulnerable to crime both during the day and night.

Third, the respondents were most afraid of property loss and assault. Women also reported a high level of fear of sexual offences.

Finally, over 85% respondents recorded that they would report crimes to the police, even petty crimes.

## PART III

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### GENERAL DISCUSSION

One of the primary purposes of this study was to identify and investigate the significance of certain determinants of fear of crime among elderly people living in urban and rural areas of Christchurch.

Research has shown elderly people fear crime more than other age groups, therefore it is important to analyse not only the actual victimisation of elderly persons, but also their perceptions of crime. This will give some indication about the consequences of crime - whether experienced or perceived - on their lives, attitudes and behaviour. Many elderly people today live alone, with a limited social network around them and a lack of ready transport. For many, physical attributes have deteriorated, such as impaired eyesight, hearing losses, and decreased physical strength. This relative isolation and physical impairment can increase feelings of vulnerability to crime (Eve & Eve 1984). However another important factor is that many elderly overestimate their risk of victimisation due to the lack of information on actual crime rates (Skogan & Maxfield 1981). In the Canterbury area elderly have an .08% chance of being a victim of an assault and a 25.9% chance of being burgled (Manderson 1990), yet the majority of respondents reported that they perceived assault and burglary as the major crimes committed against elderly individuals.

In addition, in line with previous research, the findings from the present study demonstrated that while the elderly are among those least likely to be the victim of crime, they perceived themselves as the most vulnerable. Over 74% respondents reported that elderly people are the most vulnerable. However, 76% also considered that their chances of being a victim of crime

was low. Furthermore, as with similar surveys (Brillon 1987, Goldsmith & Goldsmith 1977, Warr 1984) women living in both rural and urban areas were found to be more concerned than men about sexual attacks, even though they occur comparatively rarely (less than most fear, after rape and assault). Brillon (1987) found burglary can create far more fear for women, than for men, as breaking and entering may also be associated by some women with assault, rape and even homicide. Eighty seven per cent of all sexual offences are made against females (Warr 1986) and have serious physical and psychological consequences, therefore it is entirely reasonable for women to fear such attacks.

Biderman's (1967) and Bishop & Kleck's (1972) findings showed personal victimisation had no effect on fear. However, this study found that previous victimisation led to a greater tendency to report feeling unsafe in their neighbourhood, and feeling vulnerable to crime during the day as well as the night. There is some debate as to whether victimisation plays a role in fear levels. Researchers such as Manderson (1990) and Robinson et.al. (1989) have indicated victimisation is not the sole factor influencing fear. Isolation, vulnerability, powerlessness, physical decay and media exaggerations all heighten fear levels.

Another major finding in this survey, was the extent of reporting crimes to the police. Over 85% of elderly people questioned indicated that they would report crimes to their local police. Within the literature there is some contradiction regarding whether elderly people would report crimes. For example Kilpatrick et.al. (1987) found that only 41.4% of all crimes were reported, with elderly people reporting only 25% of crimes to the police. Manderson (1990) and Robinson et.al. (1989) both also stated that many elderly did not report crime for fear of reprisal. Conklin (1972),

however found elderly people placed more responsibility of crime fighting on to the police than younger people and were therefore more likely to report crimes. In addition, a survey carried out by Canadian Urban Victimization (1984) found over 75% elderly people would be likely to report crimes to the police. They tended to see the police as reliable and efficient in their jobs, and that they could rely on them if needed.

Crime was not a daily concern for the respondents in the current study. Elderly people were more concerned with health, injury and security. These findings are in line with studies carried out by Brillon (1987), Ragan (1977) and Goldsmith & Goldsmith (1977) that showed older people do not consider crime as a concern in their lives, as it can be avoided by taking appropriate actions. However poor health, injury and psychological decline, all of which are associated with aging and are unavoidable, therefore attract more concern.

Overall it is evident that people living in rural and urban areas covered by this survey have low levels of fear. The majority believed that they lived in a safe area, thought their chances of being victimised were low and indicated that they use adequate security methods for protection against crime. A possible explanation for this finding has also been discussed in previous New Zealand studies (Manderson 1990, Robinson et.al. 1989) and overseas (Goldsmith & Goldsmith 1977, Brillon 1989). These found that those elderly people who felt the safest from crime were the people who participated in community activities. All the respondents for the present survey belong to a Probus or Senior Citizen Club, meeting on a regular basis to give support and to provide assistance in areas of need. Thus by their participation in these clubs, they are more likely to feel secure in their lives. Furthermore, their contact with other people, especially people

their own age, led them to feel that they could rely on other people for help and support when needed.

## **PART IV**

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### **LIMITATIONS OF THE PRESENT STUDY**

The present sample concentrated on elderly people who attended local community clubs. This limits the findings of the research, as the results cannot be generalised to the entire population of Christchurch

In order to determine whether the present findings on the different types of crimes elderly most fear are major problems solely for elderly people, comparable research should be conducted on a wider range of the population. The type of crimes elderly most fear could be the same as those feared by younger persons, indicating that specific crimes such as burglary, assault and rape, are a serious concern for everyone living in the Christchurch region.

Three limitations of the current research concerns the questionnaire which respondents filled in.

First, the questionnaire did not include a question on the respondent's perception of the level of crime in their area as increasing or decreasing. The result from this question would have provided further information on elderly people's fear levels towards crime. As stated in Chapter One - Part 4, the elderly's perception that crime is increasing in their area, is an important indicator why they feel vulnerable to crime.

Second, Section C included a question 'What crimes did elderly people think were Society's worst crimes?' and 'What crimes were they most afraid of?' It was found some respondents answered both these questions similarly. As the survey's main objective was to find the types of crimes elderly most fear, the omission of the question on Society's worst crimes

may have avoided ambiguity.

Finally, Section D asked respondents the likelihood of their reporting crimes and their perception of the police in providing protection against possible victimisation. An additional question on why respondents did not report crimes would have produced a deeper understanding of elderly people's views of crime and of their local police.

A concluding limitation of the current study is its sample size ( $n=377$ ). A larger sample would have allowed for greater generalisability of the results. However limitations of time and resources confined the survey to a relatively small size.

Despite the study's limitations, it has made a significant contribution to knowledge on elderly's fear of crime and raises issues for future research.



## PART V

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### DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Research examining elderly's responses and fears towards crime is still largely in its early stages. Little knowledge currently exists, especially in New Zealand.

Future research investigating this area could explore several issues.

First, the study suggests that there is a link between victimisation and levels of fear towards crime for elderly people, and also that personal issues are of a greater concern than crime. Wider empirical research is needed on both these issues to establish their significance to other age groups in society.

Second, the effect of personal factors such as income, social supports and physical attributes on the elderly's attitudes and perceptions of crime requires investigation.

Finally, in reviewing the literature the need for a standardised and objective scale specifically orientated towards the measurement of elderly people's fear of crime became apparent and is yet to be addressed. When such measures are developed, using large and diverse samples to develop norms, research into the differential impact of fear of crime among the elderly can be fully understood.

Although such a task was well beyond the scope of the present study, it is an attainable goal of future researchers.

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APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE  
'FEAR OF CRIME IN THE ELDERLY'

As the crime rate increases, people are becoming more aware that they could be a victim of crime. This questionnaire is designed to obtain more information on people over the age of 60, fear of crime and the types of crime they most fear.

PLEASE ANSWER ALL QUESTIONS:  
(Write response or tick box where applicable)

Area of Residence: .....

Sex:                                      Female   ☐                                      Male   ☐

Type of Residence:                                      Private House                                      ☐  
   Retirement Village                                      ☐  
   Home for Elderly                                      ☐  
   Flat/House Renting                                      ☐  
   Other (explain).....

Do you share your residence with other individuals?  
  
   YES   ☐                                      NO   ☐

If YES, how many? .....

Question 1

Do you know the most common crime committed in your area?  
  
   YES   ☐                                      NO   ☐

If YES, please describe .....

.....

**Question 2**

What do you think is the most frequently committed crime against individuals over the age of 60?

.....

**Question 3**

Have you been a victim of crime (that you are sure of) in the past 5 years?

YES ☐ NO ☐

If YES, describe .....

**Question 4**

Has any crime (that you are sure of) been committed against a family member or friend in the past 5 years?

YES ☐ NO ☐

If YES, describe .....

**Question 5**

Do you feel you live in a safe area against crime?

YES ☐ NO ☐

If NO, Why .....

.....

**Question 6**

When do you feel more vulnerable to crime?

DAY ☐ NIGHT ☐ BOTH ☐



**Question 7**

What age bracket do you regard as being the most vulnerable to crime?

Under 20	<input type="checkbox"/>
21 - 30	<input type="checkbox"/>
31 - 40	<input type="checkbox"/>
41 - 50	<input type="checkbox"/>
51 - 60	<input type="checkbox"/>
61 - 70	<input type="checkbox"/>
71 - 80	<input type="checkbox"/>
Over 81	<input type="checkbox"/>

**Question 8**

If you were a victim of petty crime such as short-changing, confidence tricks, personal theft, would you report it to the police?

YES	<input type="checkbox"/>	NO	<input type="checkbox"/>
-----	--------------------------	----	--------------------------

**Question 9**

Do you feel that you can rely on your local police for protection against crime?

YES	<input type="checkbox"/>	NO	<input type="checkbox"/>
-----	--------------------------	----	--------------------------

**Question 10**

Do you do anything special to protect yourself against crime?

YES	<input type="checkbox"/>	NO	<input type="checkbox"/>
-----	--------------------------	----	--------------------------

If YES, describe briefly

.....

.....

.....

**Question 11**

Describe what you believe to be the 3 worst crimes, with 1) being the worst of all.

1)	.....
2)	.....
3)	.....



APPENDIX B

SUMMARY TABLES

SIGNIFICANT LEVEL: >0.05

SECTION A: KNOWLEDGE OF CRIME

Table 1: Crime committed in Area

	<u>df</u>	<u>x<sup>2</sup></u>	<u>n</u>	<u>prob.</u>
Gender	2	.641	376	.7259 n.s.
Code (Rural/Urban)	2	2.317	376	.3139 n.s.

Table 2: Crime committed against elderly people

	<u>df</u>	<u>x<sup>2</sup></u>	<u>n</u>	<u>prob.</u>
Gender	2	1.141	377	.5653 n.s.
Code (Rural/Urban)	2	2.378	377	.3046 n.s.

SECTION B: FEAR OF CRIME

Table 3: Living in a Safe Area

	<u>df</u>	<u>x<sup>2</sup></u>	<u>n</u>	<u>prob.</u>
Been a Victim	2	35.477	377	p = .0001
Gender	2	7.965	377	p = .0186
Code (Rural/Urban)	2	6.46	377	p = .0396

Table 4: Age Vulnerable to Crime

	<u>df</u>	<u>x<sup>2</sup></u>	<u>n</u>	<u>prob.</u>
Age	40	72.412	377	p = .0013
Gender	8	10.166	377	.2536 n.s.

Table 5: Responses to Crime

	<u>df</u>	<u>x<sup>2</sup></u>	<u>n</u>	<u>prob.</u>
Gender	1	.007	377	.9319 n.s.
Code (Rural/Urban)	1	2.765	377	.0963 b.s.

## SECTION C: TYPES OF CRIME ELDERLY MOST FEAR

Table 6: Worst Society Crimes

	<u>df</u>	<u><math>\chi^2</math></u>	<u>n</u>	<u>prob.</u>
Gender	7	41.297	371	p = .0001
Age	35	35.918	371	.4253 n.s.
Code (Rural/Urban)	7	4.939	371	.6674 n.s.

Table 7: Most Feared Crime

	<u>df</u>	<u><math>\chi^2</math></u>	<u>n</u>	<u>prob.</u>
Gender	7	125.971	374	p = .0001
Code (Rural/Urban)	7	9.435	374	.2229 n.s.
Age	35	38.146	374	.3283 n.s.
Sharing residence	7	30.061	374	p = .0001

Table 8: Possible Victimisation

	<u>df</u>	<u><math>\chi^2</math></u>	<u>n</u>	<u>prob.</u>
Sharing residence	2	1.264	375	.5315 n.s.
Gender	2	5.22	375	.0735 n.s.
Age	10	11.363	375	.33 n.s.

## SECTION D: REPORTING CRIMES AND RESPONDENTS PERCEPTION OF THEIR LOCAL POLICE

Table 9: Report Crime to the Police

	<u>df</u>	<u><math>\chi^2</math></u>	<u>n</u>	<u>prob.</u>
Code (Rural/Urban)	1	.191	377	.6625 n.s.
Age	5	3.848	377	.5715 n.s.

Table 10: Perception of their local Police

	<u>df</u>	<u><math>\chi^2</math></u>	<u>n</u>	<u>prob.</u>
Code (Rural/Urban)	1	2.04	377	.1532 n.s.
Age	5	8.858	377	.1149 n.s.
Gender	1	1.284	377	.2572 n.s.

## SECTION E: RESPONDENTS MAJOR CONCERNS

Table 11: Major Concerns

	<u>df</u>	<u><math>\chi^2</math></u>	<u>n</u>	<u>prob.</u>
Gender	6	.998	374	.9857 n.s.
Code (Rural/Urban)	6	18.966	374	p = .0042